

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

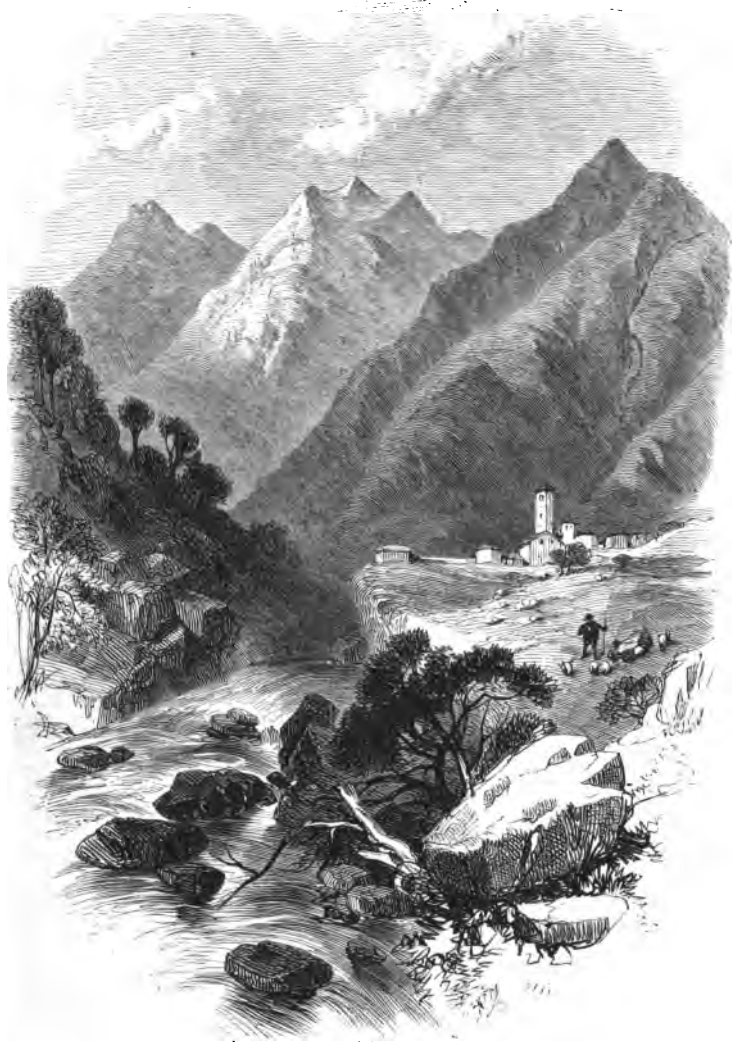
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



600099414X







LA PEROSA.

THE
ISRAEL OF THE ALPS:
A HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
WALDENSES.



TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
OF
THE REV. DR. ALEXIS MUSTON.

With numerous Engravings.

LONDON: 227, STRAND.

MDCCCLII.



110. a. 173.

THE
ISRAEL OF THE ALPS:

A History of the
PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
OF
THE REV. DR. ALEXIS MUSTON,
BY
WILLIAM HAZLITT.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

LONDON:
INGRAM, COOKE, & CO., 227, STRAND.

MDCCCLII.

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold :
E’en them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worship’d stocks and stones,
Forget not ; in thy book record their groans,
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll’d
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr’d blood and ashes sow
O’er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant ; that from these may grow
An hundred-fold, who, having learnt thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe !”

MILTON.

INTRODUCTION.

Among the wildest and most secluded of those Alpine fastnesses which lie between the Clusone and the Pelice, two mountain torrents that fall into the river Po, there is a small community of hardy and resolute men, who have continued to maintain their religious independence against the supremacy of the Romish church for more than a thousand years.

Subjects of the present king of Sardinia, and of the ancient dukes of Piedmont and Savoy, and inhabitants of that part of Pinerolo (Pignerol) which is nearest to the frontiers of France, they do not entirely assimilate either with the Italians or the French, in manners, customs, religion, or language. Their situation in the heart of the valleys which extend along the eastern foot of the Cottian Alps, between Monte Viso and the Col de Sestrières, first gave them the name of Vallenses, Waldenses, or Vaudois; a name which has since been employed to distinguish them as a primitive and episcopal church. It is to the history of this, in every respect so interesting people, whose doctrines assimilate so nearly with those of the church of England, and of whom it may be justly affirmed that they led the way in our emancipation from papal thralldom, that this volume is dedicated. The materials, as the title-page indicates, are derived almost entirely from the history compiled by Dr. Alexis Muston; but many important particulars have been introduced

from that "Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont," by which Dr. Gilly, more than a quarter of a century since, aroused the sympathy, first of the English, and then of the European protestant peoples, in behalf of the then deeply distressed Vaudois. I have also, by the kindness of Dr. Gilly, been permitted to adopt the illustrations which add so much interest to the present volume.

WILLIAM HAZLITT.

London, August, 1852.

CONTENTS.

PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. ORIGIN, MANNERS, DOCTRINE, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH IN ANCIENT TIMES	1
II. FIRST PERSECUTION—YOLANDE AND CATANEO	8
III. HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF THE VAL-LOUISE, FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THEIR EXTINCTION	13
IV. HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF BARCELONNETTE, QUEYRAS, AND FRAYSSINIÈRES	20
V. HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PROVENCE, MERINDOL, AND CABRIÈRE	27
VI. THE VAUDOIS IN CALABRIA	37
VII. INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION IN THE VAUDOIS VAL- LEYS—THE SYNOD AND THE BIBLE	43
VIII. HISTORY OF VARIOUS MARTYRS	45
IX. HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF PAESANO, PRAVIGLELMO, AND SALUZZO	49
X. HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS AND EXTINCTION OF THE RE- FORMATION AT CONIO AND IN THE PLAIN OF PIEDMONT	51
XI. HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF CARAGLI, CHIERI, AND DRONIER	54
XII. THE CHRISTIANS OF BUBIANA, LUZERNA, CAMPIGLONE, AND FENILE	57

CHAPTER	PAGE
XIII. REVIVAL OF THE CHURCHES OF SALUZZO, AND THEIR FRESH VICISSITUDES	60
XIV. AND XV. THE SECOND GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE VAUDOIS OF THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT	66
XVI. CASTROCARO, GOVERNOR OF THE VALLEYS	92
XVII. CONDITION OF THE VAUDOIS DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES-EMANUEL—THE BANDITI	98
XVIII. THE PLAGUE AND THE MONKS	111
XIX. MORE MARTYRS	116
XX. THE PROPAGANDA	124
XXI. THE MASSACRES OF 1655	131
XXII. GIANAVELLO AND GIAHERI	144
XXIII. END OF THE STRUGGLE, NEGOTIATIONS AND CONCESSIONS	162
XXIV. INFRACTIONS OF THE TREATY OF PINEROLO	169
XXV. THE WAR OF THE EXILES	178
XXVI. MEDIATION OF SWITZERLAND.—TREACHERY OF SAN DAMIANO.—CONFERENCES IN THE HOTEL-DE-VILLE, AT TURIN.—ARBITRATION OF LOUIS XIV.	184
XXVII. EXILE OF GIANAVELLO.—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOURTH PERSECUTION	190
XXVIII. MASSACRES IN THE VALLEYS	198
XXIX. THE GLORIOUS RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER ARNAUD	207
XXX. PROTEST OF THE COURT OF ROME AGAINST THE RE- ESTABLISHMENT OF THE VAUDOIS.—RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH.—FRESH EDICT OF EXPULSION	219

CONTENTS.

vii

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXXI. THE VAUDOIS IN WURTEMBERG	222
XXXII. THE VAUDOIS COLONIES IN HESSE D'ARMSTADT, AND OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY	230

PART THE SECOND.

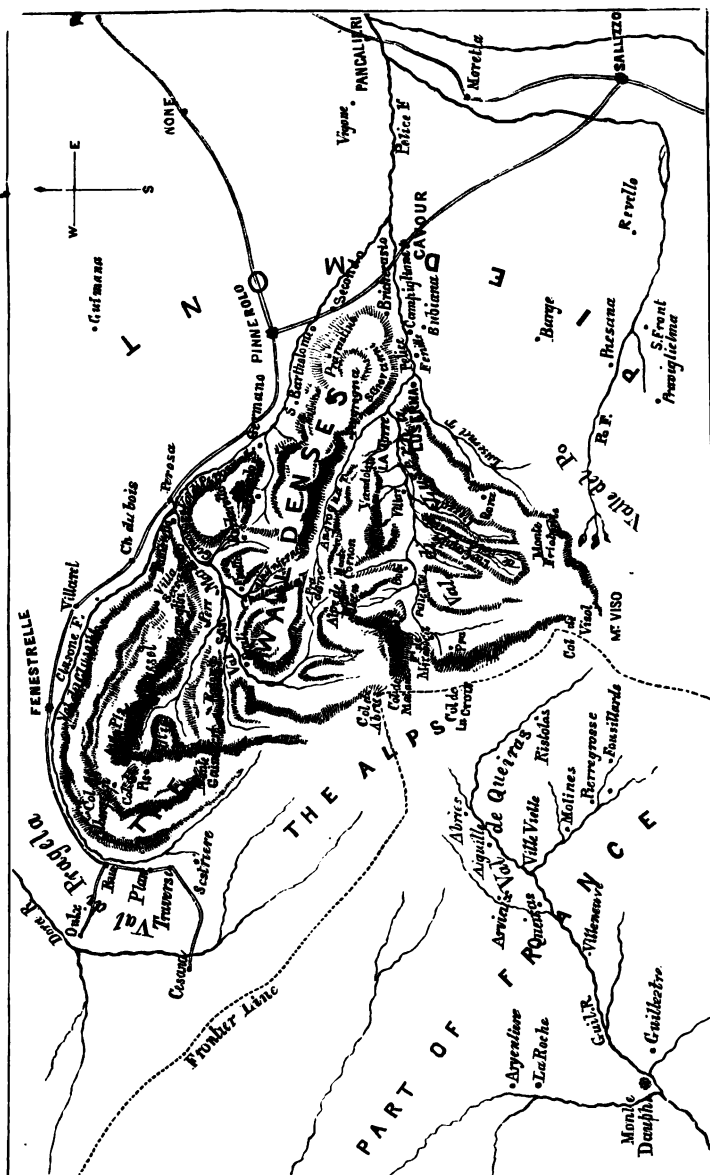
XXXIII. HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA, AND OF THE ADJACENT VALLEYS	234
XXXIV. HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS FROM THE EXPULSION OF 1698 TO THAT OF 1730	260
XXXV. INFLUENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ON THE VAUDOIS CHURCH.—COURSE OF EVENTS UNTIL THE FRENCH REVOLUTION . . .	271
XXXVI. THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS DURING THE WARS IN ITALY, AFTER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	275
XXXVII. STATE OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER THE FRENCH DOMI- NATION	285
XXXVIII. STATE OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER THE RESTORATION .	287
XXXIX. RELIGIOUS REVIVAL, AND FOUNDATION OF VARIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS . . .	290
XL. CIVIL AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF THE VAUDOIS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES-ALBERT	294

APPENDIX	297
--------------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS.

LA PEROSA	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE WALDENSES IN ARMS	<i>Vignette in Title.</i>
MAP OF THE COUNTRY OF THE WALDENSES . . .	<i>Facing page 1</i>
ASSEMBLY OF ARMED WALDENSES	25
PASS OF THE PRA DEL TOR	74
ENTRANCE INTO LA TORRE	81
CHURCH AT BOBBIO.	92
PRALI—VALLEY OF ST. MARTIN	117
SCENE IN THE VALLEY OF LUZERNA	140
BRIDGE OF VILLAR	144
CAVERN OF CASTELLUZZO	202
FIGNEROL—MONTE VISO	295

~



MAP OF THE COUNTRY OF THE WALDENSES.

THE ISRAEL OF THE ALPS.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES, FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE
EPOCH WHEN THEY WERE CIRCUMSCRIBED WITHIN THE
VALLEY OF PIEDMONT.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN, MANNERS, DOCTRINE, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE
WALDENSIAN CHURCH IN ANCIENT TIMES.

290 A.D. — 1209 A.D.



THE VAUDOIS (Waldenses)* of the Alps, are, in our view, primitive christians, or inheritors of the primitive church, who have been preserved in these valleys from the alterations successively introduced by the church of Rome into the evangelical worship. It is not they who separated from catholicism, but catholicism which separated from them, in modifying the primitive worship.

Hence the impossibility of assigning a precise date to their origin. The church of Rome, which, in its commencement, also formed part of the primitive church, did not modify itself all at once; but, as it became powerful, it assumed, together with the sceptre of rule, the display, the pride, and the spirit of domination which ordinarily accompany power; whilst, amid the Waldensian valleys, this

* Vaudois, in its original signification, merely implied christians of the valleys, and no particular sect. By the papists it was converted into a term of general reproach, synonymous with all that is bad—misbeliever, sorcerer. Joan of Arc was condemned as a *Vaudoise*.

primitive church, existing in comparative obscurity, remained in its isolation, free, and without tendency to abandon the pure simplicity of its infancy. The independence of the diocese of Milan, to which these christians of the Alps at first appertained, and that asserted by the episcopal see of Turin, in its resistance, in the ninth century, to the worship of images, contributed to maintain them in this position.*

It has been affirmed that the Vaudois, or Waldenses, owed their origin to Valdo of Lyon; and no doubt this reformer had disciples to whom he bequeathed the designation of Vaudois; but this does not prove that the Vaudois of the Alps descended from him. Numerous circumstances seem, on the contrary, to

* The following account of the opinions of Claudius, bishop of Turin and of the Valleys, 817—839, is derived from Allix's "Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont:—"—

"We need only read his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, to assure us, that he everywhere asserts the equality of all the apostles with St. Peter, though the occasions seemed naturally to engage him to establish the primacy of St. Peter, and that of his pretended successors. This we find in ten several passages of that commentary; he only declares the primacy of St. Peter to consist in the honour he had of founding the church both amongst the Jews and Gentiles, p. 810. And indeed everywhere throughout his writings he maintains, that Jesus Christ is the only Head of the Church.

"He overthrows the doctrine of merits in such a manner, as overthrows all the nice distinctions of the papists on that subject.

"He pronounces anathemas against traditions in matters of religion: so far was he from giving occasion to others to suspect that he made them a part of the object of his faith, as the church of Rome at present doth.

"He maintains, that faith alone saves us, which is the point that so extremely provoked the church of Rome against Luther, who asserted the same thing.

"He holds the church to be subject to error, opposite to what at this day the Romanists pretend in so unreasonable a manner.

"He denies that prayers after death may be of any use to those that have demanded them.

"He very smartly lashed the superstition and idolatry which then began to be renewed, being supported by the authority of the Roman see.

"These things we find in his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians: but the other writings of this great man, manuscript and printed, show us yet more of his mind. Indeed, we find him giving very public marks of his zeal for the purity of religion in several points. First, he proposeth the doctrine of the church, in reference to the eucharist, in a manner altogether conformable to the judgment of antiquity, following therein the most illustrious doctors of the Christian church, and showing that he was, as to that matter, at the farthest distance from the opinions which Paschasius Radbertus advanced eighteen or nineteen years after that Claudius had writ his commentary upon St. Matthew.

"It was worth our while to take notice of these opinions of Claudius, and of the manner of his reforming his diocese, that we might make it appear that he laid the solid principles of the Reformation in these parts, as to several points. And this was the more necessary, because the papists, as Genebrard, in his chronology, and Rorencio, have owned that the valleys of Piedmont, which did belong to the bishopric of Turin, preserved the opinions of Claudius in the ninth and tenth century."

establish that they were anterior to him, and that it was, in fact, he who owed to them the name by which he is known to us.*

The Vaudois valleys could not always preserve that obscure independence which constituted their security. Catholicism, gradually invested with a new worship unknown to the apostles, daily rendered more and more conspicuous the contrast between its pompous innovations and the antique simplicity of the Vaudois.

To reduce them within the despotic unity of Rome, there were sent against them the agents of a ministry equally unknown in the apostolic period: these were the inquisitors (1308). In consequence of the resistance which they encountered in these remote mountains, the valley of Luzerna was ultimately (1453) put under interdict. But this measure only established more manifestly the line of demarcation which was forming between the two churches; for although the Vaudois were not separated schismatically from the catholic church, the external forms of which still included them, they had their own clergy, their own worship, and their own parishes.†

Their pastors were named *barba*, the Vaudois term for *uncle*. It was in the almost inaccessible solitude of the Pra-del-Tor, a deep gorge, where pristine nature communicated to their souls none but austere inspirations, that their school was situated. There they learned by heart the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the catholic epistles, and a portion of those of St. Paul. They were instructed, further, in Latin, Romane (old French), and Italian. After this they passed several years in retirement, and they were then consecrated ministers by the administration of the sacrament and the imposition of hands.

* In the library of the university of Geneva there is an ancient manuscript, in old Gothic characters, of the date 1100, which speaks of the Vaudois by name. There is also another at Cambridge, dated 1130, forty years anterior to any mention of Valdo, containing several sermons of the pastors of the Vaudois, or Valdenses, of the Alpine valleys, and a treatise on antichrist. The reformer who is known to us as Peter Waldo, or Valdo, probably derived this surname from his being a Vaudois—"Peter the Vaudois." We do not hear of him before 1160, and he died in Bohemia, whither he had fled from the persecution of pope Alexander III. before 1179.

† Allix, in his "Remarks on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont," contends that the Vaudois had "always preserved among themselves a church government, and that they distinguished their clergy into three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons; and Raynerus, at one time a barba himself, though afterwards an apostate, has left it on record that the Vaudois had a chief bishop among them, who was always attended by two clergymen, one of whom he called his elder, and the other his younger son."

They were supported by the voluntary contributions of the people, distributed among them annually in a general synod. A third of these contributions was given to the ministers, a third to the poor, and a third was reserved for the missionaries of the church.

These missionaries always journeyed in pairs, a young man and an old man, the latter being designated *regidor*, the former *coadjuteur*. They traversed all Italy, where they had fixed stations at different points, and in almost all the towns adherents: at Venice, for example, no fewer than 6000, and at Genoa as many. The barba Jacob was on one of these missions, when, in 1492, he was arrested by the soldiers of Cataneo, on the Col de Costa-Plana, between the val di Pragela and that of Frayssinières. The judicial inquiries directed against the Vaudois from 1350 to 1500, and which are so often cited by Bossuet, in his "Variations of the Church," also mention the characteristic circumstance of these habitual journeys. Each pastor being, in his turn, a missionary, the younger men thus became initiated in the delicate duties of evangelization, each being under the experienced conduct of an elder, whom discipline established as his superior, and whom he obeyed in all things, alike from duty and from deference. The old man, on his part, thus prepared himself for his repose, by forming for the church successors worthy of it and of himself. His own task finished, he could die in peace, with the consolatory assurance of having transmitted the sacred deposit of the gospel to prudent and zealous hands.

Besides this, the barbas were instructed in some trade or profession by which they might provide, in whole or in part, for their own living. Some were hawkers, some artisans, the greater number surgeons or physicians; and all were versed in the cultivation of the soil and the nurture of flocks. Very few of them were married; their incessant missions, their indigence, their constantly struggling and menaced existence, sufficiently explain their celibacy.

At the annual synod, held in the valleys, the past conduct of the pastors was closely investigated, and their mutations of residence regulated. These mutations took place every third year among the younger pastors; the old barbas were not removed. A director-general of the church was appointed at each synod, with the designation of president or moderator; the latter title ultimately prevailed, and subsists to this day. The Vaudois.

barbas were bound to visit the sick, whether summoned or not. They nominated arbitrators in all cases of dispute; they admonished evil-doers, and if their remonstrances were unheeded, they pronounced excommunication; but this extreme proceeding was seldom requisite.

Their preaching, their catechizing, and their other exercises of instruction or piety, were, in general, similar to those of the reformed churches; except that the faithful pronounced, in under tones, the prayer preceding and the prayer following the sermon. They had hymns, but they only sung them in private, another circumstance quite in conformity with the practice of the primitive church.

Their doctrines presented, in like manner, an analogy, a striking parity, indeed, with those of the apostolic period, and of the first fathers of the church. They may be thus briefly summed up: The absolute authority and inspiration of the Bible; the trinity in God; the state of sin in man; free salvation by Jesus Christ; and above all, faith working by charity.

It may, perhaps, be matter of surprise that, prior to the reformation, the Vaudois had not contested with the Romish church the number of *sacraments* admitted by that church. They contented themselves with pointing out that Jesus Christ instituted but two; and as the gospel, upon which they in all cases rest, had not formally indicated this number, nor even pronounced the word *sacrament*, it was quite natural that they should refer themselves herein to the decision of the church, as they referred themselves afterwards to that of the reformers.

They admitted confession, but only thus: Confession, said they, is of two natures; the first should be made to God, from the bottom of the heart; without it, no one can be saved: the second is that made aloud to the priest, in order to obtain counsel from him; and this confession is valid when that of the heart has preceded it; but the second, without the first, will not save men from perdition.

They admitted penance, but under these conditions: It is a great thing, and befitting every sinner, to do penance; but it must be horror of the sin, and grief for having committed it, that must produce penance. Otherwise, it is a false penance; and false penance removes one from God to the full extent that true penance approximates one to him.

So it is with the penitence which relies on vain *satisfactions*;

since, what good can you do for the sake of penance which you ought not to do for the sake of good itself? and if you do it not, what substitute can you offer? The whole world cannot free us from our sins; He alone has offered up satisfaction for them, who is at once creator and created, even Christ.

They justly add that the sole cause of *idolatry* is those false opinions by which antichrist withdraws from God grace, truth, authority, invocation, and intercession, and attributes them to the ministers and works of his own hands—namely, to the saints and to purgatory.

The Vaudois, however, constantly recommend *alms-giving* as a means of combating sin, at once in the renunciation of those riches which might serve it as an instrument, and in the succour of the prayers of the poor thus conciliated. In the same view, they recommend *fasting*, whereby men humble themselves; but fasting without charity is as a lamp without oil: it smokes, but shines not. Prayer is, with them, inherent in love; patience is the support; gentleness, resignation, charity, the seal of the christian.

As to those who rest on others the care of their salvation, resorting to the prayers of priests and monks, to masses, indulgences, nine-days' devotions, and the like, they forget the word of God, which has declared that each man shall bear his own burden.

They recommend, indeed, reference to priests, as having *the power to bind and to loose*; but by this they understand: who, with their good counsels, can teach men how to loose themselves from the bonds of sin. They are not to expect from these *absolution*, which is a deceitful thing; but as the sick man seeks the physician who can most efficiently aid nature in releasing him from his sickness, so the sinner should seek the counsellor who can best aid him in releasing himself from sin.

Without faith, they affirm, it is impossible for man to accomplish his duties. Of himself, man cannot do this: but call upon the Lord for aid, and he will give ear.

The Vaudois observed, in common with the Roman catholics, the distinction, rejected by the protestants, between *mortal sins* and *venial sins*; but they were very far from extenuating thereby the gravity of any sin, for they declare, in general terms: Sin annihilates man, and makes him fall.

The Vaudois had houses of retirement of their own.

Amongst the thirty-two propositions imputed to them, and posted as such on the gates of the cathedral of Embrun, in 1489, was the following: "They deny that the christian should ever take an oath." It would be difficult to show any declaration of theirs involving this proposition in so absolute a form; but they certainly regarded it as a fruit of perfection that truth should not need the guarantee of an oath. The perfect man, they said, should swear not at all; and this very proposition implies the lawfulness of oaths, in the absence of perfection, since no man here below is perfect.

Their antagonism to the Romish church was throughout based on the Bible; the character of the christian was, according to them, in a christian life; and christian life itself a gift of God.

Lastly, the barbas visited once a year every village in their respective districts, for the purpose of receiving, apart, the confession of every inhabitant. The sole object of this confession was to obtain salutary counsels from christian experience, and not a fallacious absolution.

Such, in broad outline, was the state of the Vaudois church in the middle ages. In a poem, in the Romane language, called *La Nobla Leycon*, written about the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, it is stated that the Vaudois were already persecuted on account of their manners and their doctrine; and one can readily conceive the hostility of a corrupt world against a people whose severe purity was a condemnation at once of its disorders and its superstitions. "He," says the poet, "that will not swear, or speak evil, or lie, or commit injustice and theft, or give himself up to dissoluteness, or take vengeance on his enemies, is called *Vaudois*, and the cry is, *Death to him!*" These persecutions, however, were probably nothing more than the individual and isolated results of the hostility which the spirit of evil arouses in the heart of worldlings and impenitent sinners against the visible fruits of evangelical sanctification.*

The first combined measures taken by the secular authority for the destruction of the Vaudois, do not appear to date before 1209. At that epoch, the emperor Otho IV. having, after the death of his rival, Philip of Suabia, been recognised by the Diet of Frankfort, repaired to Rome, for the purpose of being conse-

* So early as 290 A.D., the Vaudois valleys were honoured with a martyr. The village of St. Legond, between Luzerna and San Martino, derives its name from that of a holy martyr, who perished there in that year.

crated by pope Innocent III., who had always favoured him against Philip. On his way he passed through Piedmont. The then reigning count of Savoy, Maurice, had taken part against him in his disputes with Philip, and the latter had given him, as a reward, the towns of Quiers, Testona, and Modona. Otho, now triumphant, resolved to punish the partisan of his competitor, by enfeebling him in his own states; and he accordingly conferred on the archbishop of Turin, who was a prince of the empire, authority to destroy the Vaudois by force of arms. Thus, the long train of persecution which this people had to undergo was not opened by the house of Savoy, but by its enemies; and when, later, the house of Savoy itself entered on the path of cruelty and depopulation, it was not of its own motion, but ever under foreign influences, the most vindictive of which was that of the court of Rome.

The branch of the counts of Piedmont reigned a hundred and seventy-six years, and the four last sovereigns bore the title of princes of Achaie. Their residence was at Pinerolo; and we do not find that these princes, such near neighbours of the Vaudois, or the first marquesses of Saluzzo, persecuted them. It has been even stated that some of the counts of Luzerna, immediate vassals of the empire, and the chief seigneurs of these valleys, shared, at one time, their creed.

Thus was the primitive church preserved in the Alps up to the epoch of the Reformation. The Vaudois are the chain by which the reformed churches are connected with the first disciples of our Saviour. In vain has popery, renegade from evangelical truths, sought, a thousand times, to break that chain: it has resisted every shock; empires have crumbled away, dynasties have fallen, but this chain of scriptural testimony has not been broken, for its strength came, not from men, but from God.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST PERSECUTION.—YOLANDE AND CATANEO.

1300—1500.

In the commencement of the fourteenth century (about 1308), the inquisitors, repairing to the valley of Angrogna, wherein synods of five hundred delegates were already wont to assemble,

were repulsed with armed force by the Vaudois, the catholic prior of the locality perishing in the collision.

It was, however, a foreigner, the sister of Louis XI., who first commenced the systematic persecution of the Vaudois. This was Yolande, who, having married Amadeus IX., one of the best and most charitable dukes of Savoy that ever honoured his dynasty, became, in 1472, as his widow, the regent of his dominions. Her name, from Yolande, was converted into Violante, either from some alteration of orthography in the public documents, or in allusion to her violent and vindictive character.

On the 23rd of January, 1476, without putting forth any other complaint against the Vaudois, or alleging any other ground for her rigour than their creed, she ordered the seigneurs of Pinerolo and Cavours to bring them back, at whatever cost, within the bosom of the Romish church: the Vaudois, in their turn, demanded that the Romish church itself should be brought back to the gospel. The duchess convoked her great vassals to deliberate on the means of reducing to silence these daring protestants—if we may employ the term a century before the Reformation. But she had not the opportunity of carrying her projects into effect, being herself made prisoner by order of the duke of Burgundy, who, being at war with Louis XI., desired to prevent her giving aid to that monarch. The Vaudois, however, had pertinaciously refused to abjure their evangelical heresy, and Charles, Yolande's second son, accordingly directed an inquiry to be made into this contumacy (1485). The result of this inquiry, which for the first time officially manifested the profound difference which time had established between the Vaudois, still faithful to the primitive faith, and the Romish church, more and more degenerate, was laid before the holy see in 1486.

In the following year, Innocent VIII. fulminated against the Vaudois a bull of extermination,* by which he enjoined all the temporal powers to arm for their destruction. It invited all catholics to take up the cross against them, "absolving from all ecclesiastical pains and penalties, general and particular, those who should take up the cross; releasing them from any oaths they might have taken; legitimatizing their title to any property they might have illegally acquired; and promising remission of all their sins to such as should kill any heretic. It annulled all

* See *postea*, p. 16.

contracts made in favour of Vaudois; ordered their domestics to abandon them, forbade all persons to give them any aid whatever, and empowered all persons to take possession of their property."

Forthwith several thousands of volunteers—vagabond adventurers, ambitious fanatics, reckless pillagers, merciless assassins—assembled from all parts of Italy to execute the behests of the pseudo-successor of St. Peter. This horde of brigands, suitable support of a profligate pontiff, marched against the valleys, in the train of another army of 18,000 regular troops, contributed in common by the king of France and the sovereign of Piedmont.

Yet no crime was alleged against the unhappy Vaudois, even by the pope himself: his exterminating bull itself admitted that their chief means of seduction was their marked manifestation of sanctity. The destruction of this feeble folk seemed inevitable at the hands of so overwhelming a force of foes; but God undertook their defence, breathing a spirit of confusion into the ranks of their enemies, of steady courage into their own.

The papal legate who was charged with the execution of these sanguinary orders, was an archdeacon of Cremona, named Albert Catanec, or de Cataneis. He took up his abode first at Pinerolo, in the convent of San Lorenzo, whence he despatched preaching monks to essay the conversion of the Vaudois, ere he assailed them with arms. These missionaries obtaining no success, he himself advanced into the valleys. The inhabitants sent to him as delegates, John Campo and John Desiderio, who thus addressed him:—"Do not condemn us without hearing us, for we are christians and faithful subjects; and our barbas are prepared to prove, in public or in private, that our doctrines are conformable with the word of God. True, we have not followed the transgressors of the evangelical law, who have so long departed from the tradition of the apostles; we have rejected their corrupt precepts, and refused to recognise any other authority than that of the Bible; but we find our happiness in a pure and simple life, wherein alone the christian faith takes root and flourishes. We despise the love of riches and the thirst of dominion, wherewith our persecutors are devoured. Our hope in God is, however, greater than our desire to please men: beware how you draw down upon yourselves his anger by persecuting us; for remember, that if God so wills it, all the forces you have assembled against us will nothing avail."

This noble confidingness was not deceived. At the will of God this army of invaders vanished from the Vaudois mountains as rain in the sands of the desert.

The inhabitants concentrated themselves on the most inaccessible points; the enemy, on the contrary, spread themselves over the plains: and from strategetic incapacity, or from an ostentatious desire to make a great display of military force, Cataneo resolved to make an attack simultaneously on all the leading points, so that from the village of Biolet, in the marquisate of Saluzzo, to that of Sezanne, in Dauphiny, his shallow lines occupied the whole country. It was his idea to stifle with one blow the hydra of heresy: with one blow his own power was shattered, his lines broken, and his battalions assailed, in their precipitate flight, by those whom they had come to crush.

The only weapons employed were pikes, swords, and arrows. The Vaudois constructed shields and cuirasses of skins, covered with the thick bark of the chesnut-tree, and these arrested the enemy's arrows, which, shot from below, penetrated without piercing these defences; while the Vaudois, vigorous and skilful, full of confidence in God, and better posted, discharged their weapons from above with triumphant advantage. There was one post, however, which, despite the energy of the defence, seemed about to be forced by the enemy—the central point of this great line of operations, on the heights of San Giovanni, near the Angrogna mountains, at a place called Roccamanante.

The crusaders having by degrees ascended the mountain, had reached this natural bulwark, behind which the Vaudois had placed their families. These, seeing them draw back, fell on their knees, and exclaimed with fervour, "O Lord God, help them! O Lord God, save us!" The enemy, who from a distance beheld their suppliant attitude, sent forth a contemptuous shout of laughter, and hastened their march. "You shall be saved with a vengeance," cried one of their chiefs, named, from his dark complexion, *Il Nero di Mondovi*; and as he spoke he raised his visor, in scorn of the poor folk, whom he thought he could insult with impunity; but at the very instant an arrow, shot by a young man of Angrogna, called Peter Revelli, pierced the forehead of this modern Goliath between the eyes, and laid him dead on the spot. His men, struck with panic fear, drew back in disorder; the Vaudois, taking advantage of their terror, sallied forth, and, rushing upon them, drove them down to the plain, where they dispersed in flight.

A fresh endeavour was made next day to obtain possession of the redoubtable post. The enemy, adopting a different route, proceeded along the val d'Angrogna, on their way to the Pra-del-Tor, whence, ascending by La Vachera, they would have rendered themselves masters of the whole country. But one of those thick fogs which, at times, suddenly arise in the Alps, came upon them, just as they were involved in the most dangerous and most difficult defiles: ignorant of the locality, advancing in doubt, uncertain which way to turn, and unable to advance in a body over these rocks, bordered with precipices, they were checked by the first attack of the Vaudois, and speedily defeated. The first who were repulsed fell back on those who were behind them, these on the next, and in a few minutes utter disorder prevailed: retreat soon became flight, flight catastrophe, the fugitives falling over the humid rocks into the fatal abysses below. Few of the assailants escaped; and this decisive rout, due to the will of God rather than to the arms of the Vaudois, completed the deliverance of this valley, which was not again visited by Cataneo's troops. The captain of the detachment thus destroyed, was named Saguet de Planghera, and the gulf into which he was precipitated is still denominated the *toumpi* (gulf) *de Saguet*.

On the montagna di Roderi, in the val de Pragela, the Vaudois, favoured by the nature of the locality, put to flight the crusaders, by rolling down upon them avalanches of rocks; after this they descended, attacked them, man to man, and prolonged the fight till the evening. The legate then drew off to Dauphiny. There a battalion of his forces, 700 strong, entering the village of Pommier, in the Val-Louise, which they designed to plunder, were suddenly attacked by the Vaudois; and all those who escaped the fury of the first assault perished within a few days in the gorges of the mountains. The standard-bearer alone, after remaining concealed in a ravine for two days, came forth to avoid death by starvation and cold, and yielded himself up to the Vaudois, who afforded him sustenance and asylum, with that generous forgiveness of injuries which Christ has inculcated on his faithful. The prisoner's strength restored, he was permitted to depart; and it was he who made known the total defeat of his companions.

After these futile and inglorious expeditions, the duke of Savoy withdrew his troops, dismissed the legate, under pretext

that his mission was completed, and sent a bishop to the Vaudois to induce them to make overtures for a peace, which, they were assured, would be granted them. The interview of this envoy with the evangelical christians of the Alps took place in the hamlet of Prasuyt, on the borders of the parishes of Angrogna and San Giovanni. It was there agreed that the Vaudois should send a representative from each of their churches to wait upon the prince, who was to repair, for that purpose, to Pinerolo. At this meeting it was that the prince required to see some of their children, in order to ascertain whether it was really true that they were born with black throats, hairy teeth, and goat's feet, as the catholics asserted. "Is it possible," he exclaimed, when he saw several of these children,—“is it possible that these are the children of heretics! What charming creatures! They are the finest children I ever beheld!” The prejudice thus dissipated may appear ridiculous, but it was calculated to be of potent effect in an ignorant age. Superstition, which obscures the moral and religious sense, throws also its veil over all the other parts of the human intellect; as, on the other hand, the light of the gospel, in illuminating the soul which has received it, elevates, aggrandizes, and purifies all the strength of the mind. The Vaudois themselves are an illustration of this fact; having placed themselves, three centuries before, at the head of modern literature. It was they who first wrote in the vulgar tongue, at that period the *Romane*, whence the Italian and French languages were formed, and of which all the primitive monuments are due to the Vaudois. The religious poems of this people are the most perfect literary compositions of the period, as well as being those in which the rays of the gospel shine with most lustre.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF THE VAL-LOUISE, FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THEIR EXTINCTION.

1300 — 1500.

THE primitive christians who have been designated Vaudois, were not confined to the valleys of Piedmont; they also occupied those of France. We find them from time immemorial in the retired depths of the Briançonnais, as well as in the Italian Alps.

The valleys most commonly inhabited by them are, towards France, those of Frayssinières, Val-Louise, and Barcelonnette; towards Piedmont, those of the Po, of Luzerna, and of Angrogna, Pragela, and San Martin.

Val-Louise is a deep, cold gorge, which descends from Mont Pelvoux to the basin of the Durance; it was formerly called Val-Gyron, from the Gyr, a torrent by which it is traversed, and, later, Val-Pute, from the number of *puyts*, or eminences, which characterize it. The earliest ascertained persecution of the people of this valley was between 1238 and 1243; a century later, in 1335, we find, in the accounts-current of the bailli of Embrun, this singular article: *Item, for persecuting the Vaudois, eight sols and thirty deniers, gold*; as though the persecution of these christians of the Alps had then become a regular department of the public service.

Chabert, one of the Vaudois brethren of the val di Luzerna, had, more than five hundred years before, bought, from the dauphin John II., a large house in Val-Louise, which he had presented to the brethren of that district for the purposes of their religious assemblies. This edifice the archbishop of Embrun destroyed, in 1348, excommunicating, beforehand, any persons who should attempt to rebuild it, and burning, at the same time, twelve Vaudois who had been found in the house by the archbishop's satellites. These unfortunate captives, being taken to Embrun, and collected in the square facing the cathedral, amid a crowd of people, and more immediately surrounded by fanatic monks, were enveloped in a yellow robe, on which were painted flames, symbolizing those of the hell to which they were declared doomed; their heads were shaved, and they were publicly anathematized; then, with bare feet, and ropes round their necks, they were fastened to the stake and strangled; fire was then applied: their bodies returned to dust, their souls ascended to their God!

The inquisitors, moreover, had disinterred the bodies of numerous persons who had died without seeking the succour of the popish church, relying solely on their Redeemer; and these exhumed corpses, after being anathematized, were burned, and their ashes dispersed on the four winds of heaven: then, fanaticism with the Romish church being ever closely mixed up with the most sordid passions, the property of the departed was confiscated to the use of the archiepiscopal chest, and all alienations

and bequests to the contrary declared void, to the infinite desolation of whole families. Happy was it for these that their most precious wealth, not being of this world, could not be taken from them!

A young inquisitor, Francesco Borelli, obtained from pope Gregory XI. pressing letters to the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the governor of Dauphiny, enjoining them to unite their forces for the purpose of extirpating from the Alps this inveterate heresy. But it was still stronger than kings, for it was the word of God, the gospel of the primitive times. The inquisitor undertook the charge of the temporal arms that were confided to him; and his persecutions left not a single village unassailed. Like the fabulous robe of the centaur, which destroyed whatever it touched, it seized whole families, whole populations, so that the prisons were soon inadequate to receive the multitude of prisoners. New dungeons were constructed for them, of mere bare walls, designed only to secure and inflict suffering on the captives.

The valley of the Durance, with its ramifications of Queyras, Frayssinières, and Val-Louise, was absolutely decimated: one would have said that the plague had passed over it; but it was only the inquisitors!

Borelli began with summoning before him all the inhabitants of these valleys: they did not appear, and he condemned them for not appearing. Thenceforward, exposed to be surprised by his satellites, they suffered the double anguish of their own perils and the anguish of their families. One was seized on the highway, another in his field, another by his fireside; for fifteen years did the work of extermination proceed, in the name of the catholic faith, at the breath of the Vatican, that formidable summit, resembling Olympus only in its false gods, Sinai in its thunders, and Calvary in its blood.

At length, on 22nd May, 1393, all the churches of Embrun were decked as for a grand solemnity, and the cathedral especially, where the mass of the local clergy, covered with their theatrical decorations, were grouped in the choir, while, near them, a double line of soldiers served at once to keep back the people in the nave, and to guard a troop of prisoners, soldiers of Christ, condemned, for their vindication of his word, to be burned alive. Presently the list of these martyrs was read out to the people; there were eighty from the valleys of Frayssi-

nières and Argentiére, and one hundred and fifty from the Val-Louise—a large proportion of the population of that valley; and after each name was pronounced the fatal formula that condemned the living bodies of these two hundred and thirty victims to the stake! The secret motive of this wholesale condemnation is, if possible, still more disgraceful than its cruelty: the entire property of the condemned was confiscated to the use of the archbishop and the inquisitors. The solitude of the desert now reigned in these depopulated mountains; and as the wolves abandon the exhausted charnel-house, the inquisitors withdrew from these impoverished valleys.

For a while France had enough to do in saving herself from utter destruction at the hands of the English, owing her final safety only to the enthusiasm of a young girl, Joan of Arc; meantime, the Vaudois churches gradually raised up their heads once more, as violets from amid the rocks, the breath of persecution propagating their evangelical faith, as the wind bears afar the fragrance of the flower. But the haughty and brutal animosity of popish paganism grew also; and towards the close of the fifteenth century, Innocent VIII. proclaimed against the Vaudois that war of extermination, the conduct of which, as we have seen, he committed to Albert Cataneo, (Albertus de Cataneis,) by a bull, of which the following extracts are taken from Morland's "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont."

"Innocentius, bishop, a servant of the servants of God, to our beloved son, Albertus de Cataneis, archdeacon of the church of Cremona, nuncio of the see apostolic, and our commissioner for the dominions of our beloved son, that noble person, Charles, duke of Savoy, on this and on the other side of the mountains, through the city and diocese of the Delphinat, Vienne, and Sedun, and the places near adjoining thereunto, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"We have heard, and it is come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, inhabitants of the province of Evreux, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, who are called the poor people of Lyons, or the Waldenses, who have long ago endeavoured in Piedmont, and other neighbouring parts, by the instigation of him who is the sower of evil works, through by-ways, purposely sought out, and hidden precipices, to insnare the sheep belonging unto God,

and at last to bring them to the perdition of their souls by deadly cunning, are damnably risen up under a feigned pretence of holiness, being led into a reprobate sense, and do greatly err from the way of truth ; and following superstitious and heretical ceremonies, do say, act, and commit very many things contrary to the orthodox faith, offensive to the eyes of the Divine Majesty, and which do occasion a very great hazard of souls.

“ We therefore, having determined to use all our endeavours, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect, and the foresaid execrable errors, that they may not spread farther, and that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the catholic church ; and to repress such rash undertakings ; and having special confidence in the Lord concerning your learning, your ripeness in counsel, your zeal in the faith, and your experience in the management of affairs ; and in like manner hoping that you will truly and faithfully execute the things which we shall think good to commit unto you for the extirpating of such errors ; we have thought good to constitute you at this time, for this cause of God and the faith, the nuncio commissioner of us, and of the apostolical see, within the dominions of our beloved son, Charles, duke of Savoy, and the Delphinat, and the cities and diocese of Vienne, and Sedun, and the adjacent provinces, cities, lands, and places whatsoever, to the end you should cause the same inquisitor to be received and admitted to the free exercise of his office, and that you should induce the followers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all other polluted with any other heretical corruption whatsoever, to abjure their errors, and to obey the commandments of the same inquisitor, and give way to your seasonable remedies ; and that you may do this so much the more easily, by how much the greater power and authority is given you by us, to wit, a power, that by yourself, or by some other person or persons, you may admonish and require most urgently all archbishops and bishops seated in the Duchy, Delphinat, and the other forenamed adjacent places, whom the most High hath called to share with us in our cares, and command them, by virtue of holy obedience, that together with our venerable brethren the ordinaries of the places, or their vicars, or general officials, in whose cities and dioceses you shall think fit to proceed with the orders, and to execute the office which is enjoined you with the forenamed inquisitor, a man no

doubt endued with learning and fervent zeal for the salvation of souls, they do assist you in the orders, and together with you be able and willing to proceed to the execution thereof against the forenamed Waldenses, and all other heretics whatsoever, to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders, and to procure diligently that the people committed to their charge do persist in the confession of the true faith, and be confirmed therein; and that they do with a ready mind, as they are bound, use all their endeavours, and bestow all their care towards so holy and so necessary an extermination and dispersion of the same heretics: and they are to be required to omit nothing which may contribute thereunto.

“And if you shall think it expedient, to cause, exhort, and induce all the faithful in those parts, by fit preachers of God preaching the cross or the crusade, to fight manfully against the same heretics, having taken the saving sign of the cross upon their hearts and garments; and to grant, that such as are signed with the cross, and fight against the said heretics, or such as contribute thereunto, may obtain, according to your appointment, once in their life, and also at the point of death, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins.

“In the meantime to choose, depute, and confirm one or more fit generals of war, and captains, for the collecting the crusade army in our name of the church of Rome, and command them that they take this burden upon them, and execute it faithfully for the praise and defence of the faith; and that all others do endeavour jointly to obey him or them; and to enjoin, that all the moveable and immovable goods of the heretics may be lawfully seized and given away by anybody whatsoever; and to make a booty of all goods which the heretics bring, or cause to be brought, unto the territories of the catholics, or carry, or cause to be carried, out of the same; and to command, that all who are in the service of the same heretics anywhere, shall depart within the time by you prefixed unto them, under such penalties as you shall see good; and to admonish and require them, and all ecclesiastical and secular persons, of what dignity, age, sex, or order soever they may be, to yield obedience, and give attendance with reverence to the apostolical commands, under the penalties of excommunication, suspension, or interdiction; and that they abstain from all commerce with the foresaid heretics;

and to declare, that neither they, nor any others, who, by any contract or otherwise, are in any sort bound unto them to perform or pay anything, are henceforth at all obliged, or by the same authority can be compelled thereunto."

It was in the month of June, 1488, that this worthy legate of the pope, having fruitlessly essayed to subjugate the valleys of Piedmont, passed into France by Mont Genevre, where he caused to be strangled eighteen of these poor folk whom he had made prisoners. Thence he made an onslaught upon Briançon, a town which had been indicated to him as a nest of heresy; and from this marched upon Frayssinières, whose few and poorly armed inhabitants retired to a rock overlooking the church, where they were surrounded by the troops, and made prisoners.

Cataneo's ferocious fanatics thence entered the deep gorge of Val-Louise. The Vandois, feeling that they could not resist a force twenty times greater than their own, abandoned their poor habitations, placed their old people and children in their rustic carts, with their domestic utensils and such provisions as they could collect, and, driving their herds before them, and singing canticles, retired to the rugged slopes of Mont Pelvoux. This part of the Alps, which has since been named the Visol Briançonnais, rises more than 6000 feet above the level of the valley. A third of the way up there is an immense cavern, called Aigue-Froide or Ailfrede, from the cold springs, nourished by the snows, which are found there. A sort of platform, accessible only over fearful precipices, extends at the mouth of the cavern, the majestic vault of which, after subsiding into a narrow passage, expands once more into an immense hall, of irregular form. Such was the asylum which the Vaudois had selected. They placed at the extremity of the grotto, the women, children, and old men; the cattle and sheep occupied the lateral cavities of the rock, and the able-bodied men posted themselves towards the mouth of the cavern, which, after having first barricaded with large rocks the path that led to the grotto, they had walled up with similar materials. Cataneo states, in his Memoirs, that they had with them provisions for more than two years. All their precautions thus taken, they deemed they had nothing to fear; but in reality they had to fear this very confidence in mere human precautions.

Cataneo had with him a daring and experienced leader, named La Palud. This captain, seeing the impossibility of

forcing the entrenchments of the grotto on the side by which the Vaudois had reached it, led his own men back into the valley ; then, with all the ropes he could collect, he ascended Mont Pelvoux, and, making his way to the precipice overhanging the entrance to the cavern, descended, by means of the ropes, to the platform. Nothing could have been more easy than for the Vaudois either to have cut the ropes, or to have slain each soldier before he reached the ground, and then hurled him into the abyss ; but a panic terror seized the unhappy besieged. Some who rushed out from the cavern precipitated themselves down the rocks : those who essayed resistance were slaughtered by La Palud, who then, not venturing to involve his men in the depths of the cavern, piled up all the wood he could collect at the entrance, and setting fire to it, those who attempted to issue forth were either destroyed by the flames, or by the sword of the enemy, while those who remained within were stifled by the smoke. When the cavern was afterwards examined, there were found in it four hundred infants suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers. Altogether there perished in this cavern more than 3000 Vaudois—including the entire population of Val-Louise. Cataneo distributed the property of these unfortunates among the vagabonds who accompanied him, and never again did the Vaudois church raise its head in these blood-stained valleys.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF BARCELONNETTE, QUEYRAS, AND FRAYSSINIÈRES.

1300—1650.

THE valley of Barcelonnette is a hollow closed in on all sides by almost inaccessible mountains. The period of the first advent hither of the Vaudois is unknown ; but we find that when Farel came to preach here in 1519, at Josiers, the population rejoiced to hear, by the voice of the reformer, the doctrines of *their forefathers* proclaimed aloud in all their evangelical purity. But this publicity itself attracted the formidable notice of the Romish church, and ferocious inquisitors were despatched to do their evil work in this peaceful retreat of poverty and prayer. This was in

1560, and the persecution against the faithful was so fierce, that they were fain to flee into the mountains, where they long lived a wandering life, without shelter, and with barely enough food to sustain existence. Such of them as were seized, and did not abjure, were sent to the galleys, and the condition of the apostates, apart from the misery of their remorse, was very little better, so that many of them *relapsed*, as it was called, to the evangelical faith, and thus exposed themselves to the extreme vengeance of the papists.

In 1366, a rigorous order enjoined all the Vaudois of Barcelonnette either to embrace catholicism, or to quit the territory of Savoy within a month, under penalty of death and confiscation of their property. Most of them resolved to retire to the valley of Frayssinières, which belonged to France; but it was now deep winter; the roads were covered with snow and ice; the women, children, and old men could advance but slowly, so that, wearied and cold, they were fain to lie down for the night on the snow, and numbers were frozen into the sleep of death. The survivors reached with difficulty the paternal asylum that had been opened to them. When, however, the governor of Barcelonnette proposed to distribute the property of the proscribed amongst the catholic population of the valley, these noble men, unaccountably behindhand in the march of their church, refused to accept the gift, and the Vaudois were thereupon permitted to return, and resume their possessions, the authorities perceiving that otherwise the land would remain uncultivated, and the valley in a large degree uninhabited. Still the reformers were not allowed openly to exercise their religion there, but were fain several times in the year to traverse the glaciers to Vars, in the territory of France, to receive the communion and the benediction of a pastor.

Half a century later (in 1623), persecution recommenced. A Dominican monk, named Bouvetti, obtained from the duke of Savoy authorization to proceed against the Vaudois of Barcelonnette, to whom he brought once more the alternative of abjuration or exile. The execution of this alternative was pitilessly prosecuted by the governor of the valley, Francis Dreux; so that after many fruitless endeavours to effect a modification of their fate, the Vaudois, unshaken in the faith of their fathers, had once more, and now without return, to abandon their native valley, and to seek an asylum in lands less afflicted. Some withdrew to

Queyras and Gapençois, others to Orange and Lyon, others to Geneva, others to the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, which seemed their mother-country.

The inhabitants of Frayssinières, whose laborious habits and pure life the illustrious De Thou has depicted in the most vivid colours, resisted the persecution. Louis XII. had said of them, after a judicial inquiry into their creed and conduct: "These worthy people are better christians than we." But they were christians by the gospel; and Rome, who would have no such christians, never ceased, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, to persecute them; between 1066 and 1290 no fewer than five papal bulls demanded their extirpation, and so early as 1238 the Inquisition preyed upon them. To ascertain whether an accused person was really *guilty*, these official defenders of the catholic faith were wont to apply a red-hot iron to his cheek: if the iron burned him, this was a proof of heresy, and he was condemned.

In 1344, most of the inhabitants of Frayssinières, being persecuted, took refuge in the valleys of Piedmont; but they afterwards returned thence with their barbas, resisted the inquisitors, and were soon stronger than before.

After the extermination of the Vaudois of Val-Louise, Cataneo, directed by the inquisitor Francesco Ployeri to deal with the Vaudois of Frayssinières, summoned them to appear before him at Embrun. Knowing that the object was to obtain their abjuration, they did not attend; hereupon they were condemned, as contumacious rebels and heretics, to be burned, and their property to be confiscated to the Romish church. Such of them as were seized were accordingly sent to the stake without any further formality; and any one who interceded for them, though it were a son for a mother, a father for his child, was immediately imprisoned, and, in many cases, condemned also to the flames as abetting heresy.

Upon the death of Charles VIII., in 1498, delegates from almost all the provinces of the kingdom repaired to Paris to take part in the coronation of Louis XII.; and the inhabitants of Frayssinières took the occasion to depute one of their number to attend, and to lay their complaints before the new sovereign. Louis XII. referred the matter to his council, and after consultation with the pope, papal and royal commissioners were appointed to investigate the subject on the spot. Upon arriving at Embrun, these commissioners had all the documents of the processes

against the Vaudois on the part of the inquisitors laid before them, and having investigated them, censured the bishop, and annulled all the condemnations pronounced *par contumace* against the inhabitants of Frayssinières. The bishop, unwilling to surrender the property so odiously confiscated, opposed this decree; but it was ratified by Louis XII., and by a brief obtained from the pope Alexander VI., through the medium of his son, Cæsar Borgia, who was then in Paris, on the mission by the operation of which, in exchange for a bull of divorce given to the king, he received from the latter, with the title of duc de Valentinois, that portion of Dauphiny in which the valley of Frayssinières lies.

Borgia and Alexander VI. had quite other things to do than to trouble their heads about the doctrines that were professed in this valley. The inhabitants, however, having been condemned as contumacious by an ecclesiastical tribunal, it was necessary that they should receive absolution; and Alexander being liberal on this head, and desirous of pleasing the king, granted the population, not only an absolution from the particular liability, but, while he was about it, from "all frauds, usuries, thefts, simony, adulteries, murders, and poisonings whatsoever,"—crimes which, being habitual at Rome, the worthy pope conceived to be of ordinary course elsewhere, but to which the simple and austere life of the Vaudois rendered them strangers.

Half a century afterwards, in the height of the wars which occupied the sixteenth century, an armed attempt against the Vaudois of Frayssinières and Queyras was made by the commandant of Embrun, who marched against them at the head of 1200 Embrunese and Briançonnese. But Lesdiguières, then scarcely twenty-four years old, hastened by the Champsaur to defend his co-religionists; he encountered the enemy at St. Crespin, and cut them in pieces. The protestants, in their turn, resolved to take Embrun, and a plan was laid for the purpose; but it was defeated, and its framer, captain La Breoulè, was hanged and quartered, his dismembered limbs being fixed on stakes at the four gates of the town. Twelve years after, Lesdiguières took possession of the place. He first attacked the town of Charges; it was fortified, and the inhabitants and garrison, relying upon the fortifications, amused themselves within, singing and dancing. Lesdiguières advanced by covered ways, scaled the walls, and entered the place. "We are come to dance with you," said he. The garrison made some show of defence,

but it was soon put to the sword. A regiment of 500 arquebusiers came from Embrun to recover the place, but they fell into an ambush laid for them by Lesdiguières, at La Coulche, and were all cut to pieces. The victorious chief then advanced to Embrun, which he took on the 17th of November, 1586. A party of the soldiers who defended it withdrew into the central fortress, of which a portion called La Tour-Brune still remains. The besiegers set fire to the place, and the besieged, in order to save the episcopal archives, threw them out of a window; among them were the Inquiries directed against the Vaudois; a soldier picked them up, sold them, and, from hand to hand, they have been transmitted to our own days. The cathedral of Embrun then became a protestant church, for the bishop had fled, at the commencement of the siege, with all his clergy.

Two days after this exploit, Lesdiguières besieged Guillestre, which he took, and rased its walls, which have never since been rebuilt. He then ascended the rugged course of the Guill, and took Château-Queyras, where the resistance experienced augmenting the indignation and excitement of the protestant troops, they were guilty of sanguinary reprisals upon the catholics, by whom they had been so long oppressed.

For some years past, more especially, whole troops of fanatics had assailed their habitations, and spread desolation and death among them, the chief instigators of these outrages being captains de Mures and de la Cazette. In 1583, the reformers of Queyras, menaced with an attack by considerable forces, invoked the aid of their co-religionists of Piedmont. The Vaudois of the valley of Luzerna were the first to arrive. They obtained possession of Abries; the enemy remained masters of Ville-Vieille, at two hours' distance below. A traitor, captain Vallon, leaving the catholic ranks, came to Abries, and said to the protestants; "I am one of your brethren; having been made prisoner by the enemy, they made me swear not to resume arms, but I have obtained permission to leave their camp, and I have come to warn you that if you do not retire, you will be all cut to pieces." "Traitor!" exclaimed a Vaudois, "unless you desire to be cut in pieces the first, retire yourself." The traitor disappeared, and the hostile armies advanced. The cavalry followed the course of the valley, and two bodies of infantry the sides of the mountains. The Vaudois were at first intimidated by the aspect of forces so superior to their own. "Fear nothing," cried captain Pellenc

of Villaro ; "let but a hundred men follow me, and God will be for us." All followed him. Captain Frache, who had already delivered the Vaudois of Exili from the hands of La Cazette, rushed upon the enemy, and made their centre give way ; but their two wings drawing together, the small Vaudois troop seemed about to be enveloped. They retreated to the heights of Valprévère ; being here joined by their brethren from the valley of San Martin, they impetuously resumed the offensive. They had altogether the advantage of position, and the avalanches of stone which they rolled down upon the enemy, crushed the first ranks of the catholics ; they then rushed down, dispersed the aggressors, and pursued them to Château-Queyras. The skirmishes which afterwards took place terminated in the victory of Lesdignières, who took possession of the whole valley, and maintained his protectorate up to the edict of Nantes. During the 17th century, the Vaudois were permitted freely to exercise their religion, and had regular pastors at Restolas, Abries, Château-Queyras, Arvieux, Moline, and St. Veran.



The revocation of the edict of Nantes destroyed their temples and proscribed themselves. Thousands of French protestants exiled themselves. Those of Queyras withdrew into the valleys of Piedmont. Under Louis XV. the reformed faith being still interdicted, the protestant churches of Dauphiny exercised their worship in the desert, like those of Le Gard and of the

Cevennes. When a religious assembly was to take place, the villagers descended separately, by different paths, with spade on shoulder, as if repairing to their work, and all would meet in some solitary nook, where, taking their psalm-books from their bosoms, they would unite in prayer. Whole families were wont to traverse long distances to attend these meetings. Departing in the evening, they would travel all night, and at the entrance of villages the men would take off their shoes and walk barefoot, so that the sound of their steps might not betray them; the feet of the mules or horses, on which the women and children rode, were covered with linen, for the same purpose, and thus the pious procession would reach the secret place of prayer. Sometimes the gendarmerie, then called the *maréchaussée*, would suddenly come upon the assembled worshippers, and, in the name of the king, arrest the pastor, though, generally, not without a fierce resistance, in which the bullets of the pope often tore in pieces the gospel of Christ; but the assemblies of the desert, dispersed at one point, would rally at another. Where copies of the Bible had, by incessant seizures, become too few to supply the wants of each, societies of young persons were formed, for the purpose of learning the Scriptures by heart, and thus preserving it, in their memory at least, from the menaced confiscation. Each member of these societies was entrusted to retain exact in his memory a certain number of chapters; and when the assembly of the desert assembled, these new Levites, standing beside the minister, in face of the faithful, would supply the reading of the interdicted pages, by successively reciting, each in his turn, all the chapters of the book indicated by the pastor, for the common edification. Descendants of these glorious men, who thus aided to preserve the protestant church in France through periods of storm, still subsist at Frayasinieres, at Vars, at Darmilhonse, Arvieux, Molines, and St. Veran. A recent apostolate, worthy of representing the ancient Vaudois fervour, has connected with these districts the name of Felix Neff.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PROVENCE, MERINDOL,
AND CABRIERE.

1350 — 1550.

THE Vaudois established themselves in Provence under Charles II., who, possessing vast lordships on both sides the Alps, was thence designated count of Piedmont and Provence. This was towards the close of the thirteenth century. At the commencement of the following century, the persecutions directed against the Vaudois of Dauphiny impelled many of them to join their co-religionists on the banks of the Durance. After the ten-years' war between Louis II., count of Provence, and Raymond of Toulouse (1389-1400), this district was depopulated; and Louis II. being compelled to sell a portion of it, to defray the expenses of the war, the seigneurs of Boulrier-Cental and of Rocca-Sparviera, purchased from him the valley of Aigues, which extends from north to south, on the gentle slopes of Leberon. These seigneurs, who already possessed large estates in the marquisate of Saluzzo, which were cultivated by Vaudois, engaged bodies of these to come and cultivate their new possessions, which were ceded to them on perpetual leases. Other Vaudois who had emigrated from these valleys to Calabria, now returned, while, in their place, some of the faithful from Provence repaired to Calabria, so close was the fraternity which then existed between the dispersed communities of this united church.

For awhile the Vaudois of these valleys, adhering to a close reserve in their religious worship, and punctually paying all taxes, tithes, and seigneurial dues, were not interfered with by the catholics; but the German reformers having reproached them with cowardice and dissimulation in not more openly manifesting their faith, they ceased to practise their worship in private. Forthwith the inquisitors were let loose upon them, and one of these, John di Roma, was so excessive in his cruelties and spoliations, during the ten years he acted in these valleys, that the king had him imprisoned. The persecutions which he had commenced were, however, none the less continued. In 1534, the bishops of Sisteron, Apt, Cavaillon, and other sees, each

in his diocese, sought out the Vaudois, and filled the prisons with them. Having ascertained that these heretics were natives of Piedmont, information was transmitted of their apprehension to the archbishop of Turin; and a commissioner, appointed by him, wrote to the authorities in Provence, directing that proceedings should be suspended until full inquiry had been made by him. The bishop of Cavaillon, however, on the 29th of March, 1535, informed him that thirteen of these prisoners had been already burned to death. Among these was Antony Pasquet of Saint-Segond. *Others, he said, had died in prison; and among these was Peter Chalvet, of Roccapiatta. Thus the intervention of the commissioner was futile against the vehement zeal of these prelates, and that, still more, of the parliament of Provence, eager rather for condemnations than for justice.

Clement VIII., a year before his death, promised plenary indulgence to every Vaudois who would enter within the pale of popery: not one of them accepted the offer. Thereupon the pope complained to the king of France, who wrote to the parliament of Aix; and the parliament ordered the seigneurs of the lands occupied by the Vaudois, to compel their vassals either to abjure or to quit the country. Upon their refusal, an attempt was made to conquer them by intimidation. Some of them were cited to appear before the court of Aix, to explain the causes of their disobedience: they did not attend, and, in default, the court condemned them to be burned alive. Their brethren thereupon took up arms, and, under the leadership of Eustache Maron, delivered the prisoners. The authorities took up arms, and a civil war seemed inevitable. The case was laid before the king, Francis I.; and he, thinking to pacify all parties, published, in July, 1535, a general amnesty, on the condition that the heretics should abjure within the space of six months.

The six months passed away, and there was no abjuration: hereupon every seigneur and magistrate of these districts assumed the right of exacting abjuration, or of inflicting punishment on the recusant, by means of confiscation and imprisonment. Many of the seigneurs used largely this new mode of enriching themselves. Menier d'Oppede grievously abused it. The descendant of a Jewish family, poor, of evil reputation, and remorseless in soul, he took advantage of this crusade against the faithful: collecting some armed men, he would issue forth, seize upon some Vaudois farmer, and command him to invoke

the saints. "There is but one mediator between God and man," would the Vaudois reply; "and that is he who is himself both God and man, even Christ." The heretic would then be dragged to the caverns beneath the château d'Oppède, and there remain until he paid a heavy ransom, or till death released him, in which case his captor confiscated all his property to his own use.

These revolting depredations especially disgraced the year 1536. In the following year, the attorney-general of the parliament of Provence, at the instance of the fanatic clergy, and of greedy spoliators, drew up a report, setting forth that the Vaudois were daily increasing. Upon this report the king commanded the court to suppress the rebels; in June, 1539, he further enjoined it to take cognizance of heresy, and in the following October the court ordered the seizure of one hundred and fifty-four persons, denounced as heretics by two apostates.

In the excessive fermentation to which such measures naturally gave rise, a mere spark would light up a flame; and this happened in the following manner.

The judge of Apt, taking a fancy to a mill there, denounced the miller, Pellenc, as a heretic; Pellenc was burned alive, and his mill confiscated to the profit of the denouncer. Some young people of Merindol, whose Provençal veins still boiled with Italian blood, could not restrain their indignation at such iniquity, and in their ignorance or their despair of legal forms, they executed justice for themselves: they went by night, and destroyed the mill, so unrighteously possessed, at the price of their brother's blood, by his murderer. The judge made his complaint to the court of Aix, and named the persons whom he suspected to have taken part in this violence. The court, though it was vacation time (July, 1540), held an extraordinary sitting, and decreed the arrest of eighteen persons.

The officer appointed to effect the arrest proceeded to Merindol; he found the houses all empty. "Where are the inhabitants of this village?" he asked, of a mendicant whom he met on the way. "They have fled to the woods, for they heard that the troops of the count de Teuda were going to kill them." "Go seek them," said the officer, "and tell them they shall receive no harm." A few Vaudois made their appearance, and the officer served the summons upon these, ordering them to appear before the court in two months.

On the 2nd of September they assembled together, and addressed to the court a memorial protesting their submissiveness to its orders, and their fidelity to the king; and supplicating the court not to be influenced by their enemies, who had already misled it, since, in the summons which they were directed to obey, there were the names of some persons who were dead, of others who had never existed at all, and of infants who could not yet walk. The court, irritated at having its blunders pointed out by these simple mountaineers, replied that the living should appear before it without troubling their heads about the dead. The Vaudois consulted an advocate as to what course they should pursue. "If you desire to be burned alive," was the answer, "you will go before the court." They did not go before it, and, accordingly, upon the 18th of November, 1540, the court of Aix pronounced against them an inconceivable judgment, condemning to the stake twenty-three persons, seventeen out of whom were named, delivering up their wives and children to whomsoever could seize them, forbidding all persons to aid them in any way, and ordering Merindol, as a place notorious for heresy, to be burned to the ground, and utterly destroyed.

This decree aroused general indignation, not only in the populace, but in the generous hearts among the nobility and the advocates. The young count d'Allenc, one of the most distinguished members of the Arlesian nobility, waited upon the president, Chassanée, made an appeal to his justice and humanity, and obtained a respite, during which the court, itself alarmed at the decree it had pronounced, referred the matter to the king, who directed Dubellay, seigneur de Langez, to proceed to Provence, and inquire into the conduct of the Vaudois.

Upon the report of this nobleman that the Vaudois were retired and quiet people, reserved in their manners, chaste and sober in their lives, and laborious in their habits, but non-frequenters of the mass, the monarch, by a letter dated the 18th of February, 1541, proclaimed a general amnesty, pardoning all the condemned on condition of their abjuring their errors of doctrine within three months. This amnesty was not published by the court of Aix till the middle of May, when there only remained two weeks of the stipulated time unexpired; but had there been but one moment, they would never have sought to save their mortal life, at the expense of their immortal soul, by abjuring the truth. On the contrary, they proclaimed more

emphatically than ever, their persecuted doctrines, in a confession of faith, dated 6th of April, 1541, which they transmitted to Francis I., and which the sire de Castelnau read to him. Each point of doctrine was supported by texts of scripture. "Well, what have our people got to say in reply to that?" asked the monarch, from time to time. But his fickle and superficial mind soon forgot the impression thus made on it by this biblical work.

The illustrious and learned Sadolet, whose features Raffaele has transmitted to us in a celebrated picture, heard of this confession of faith, and requested to be furnished with a copy of it. He was at this time bishop of Carpentras, and it was with him the Vandois of Cabrières first appear on the stage; for, being inhabitants of his diocese, it was they who laid before him a copy of the common confession. "We consent," said they, "not only to abjure, but to submit to the severest penalties, if it can be shown to us, out of the holy scriptures, that our doctrines are erroneous."

The cardinal replied to them with kindness, admitted that they had been the victims of "black calumnies and false criminalations," requested them to come and confer with him, and sought to make them perceive that without departing from the spirit of their confession, they might modify its letter. He took no pains, indeed, to prevent their perceiving that he himself desired a reform in catholicism. Had the Vandois encountered such examiners as he, blood would not have flown! He wrote to the pope to express his surprise that the Vandois were persecuted, while the Jews were spared; but the poor folk soon lost his protection, for he was recalled to Rome, and thus, removed from his observation, the Vandois remained alone in face of their persecutors.

The term of the amnesty indicated by the royal letter having arrived, the court of Aix ordered the Vandois to send ten representatives, to declare whether they intended to avail themselves of it and to conform. One representative alone appeared, named Estène. "We consent to abjure," he repeated, "if our errors can be demonstrated."

Other persons protested against it without reservation, and of this number were precisely those who had been condemned by the decree of the 18th November, 1540, so that the decree ceased to have any meaning or object; yet it was afterwards made use

of as a pretext for their entire extermination, a circumstance which effectually lays bare the disorder and iniquity of what was then called the administration of justice, in relation to the Vaudois.

The only memorable incident of the following year was the martyrdom of a humble hawker of books, who, being discovered in the act of selling a Bible at Avignon, was, on his refusal to abjure, burned alive, the sacred volume he had essayed to disseminate being burned with him.

The cardinal de Tournon, excited against the Vaudois by the legate of the papal see, sent word to the king that the clergy had rejected the confession of faith which the sectaries had laid before him, whereupon the governor of the province was ordered to clear it of heresy. The bishop of Cavallin, deputed by the court of Aix, visited Merindol to inquire into the religious views of the Vaudois. On reaching the village, he summoned the bailli and the principal inhabitants before him, and rejecting all question between them of doctrine, required them at once "to abjure their errors;" intimating that all he desired was a mere formality on their part, after which they would be left at peace, and at full liberty to place what interpretation they pleased on their abjuration. But the Vaudois were not Jesuits; they frankly refused compliance, and the bishop withdrew.

On the 4th April, 1542, he returned, and was equally unsuccessful. Two years then passed away, in suspense on the one hand, in hesitation to act on the other, and then Francis I., on 14th June, 1544, on the plaint of the Vaudois of Cabrieres du Cantal, issued an edict suspending all proceedings against the Vaudois, restoring them to their social privileges, releasing such of them as were in prison, and "the procureur-general of Provence being a relation of the archbishop of Aix, *their sworn enemy*," directing that a counsellor of the court should be sent in his place to take information respecting them. The court of Aix, before publishing this edict, sent one of its officers, named Courtin, to Paris, to procure, if possible, its revocation. A sum of sixty livres was assigned him for his expenses, and he had letters to the cardinal de Tournon, and to the king's attorney-general Jean Le Clère. On the 1st January, 1545, letters of revocation were, in the privy council, placed before the king for signature, and he signed them without reading them, or being at all aware of their purport. These letters of revocation, it was afterwards proved before a commission of inquiry, in 1550, were

forged, and were then surreptitiously placed before the king for signature. They were, however, effective for the purpose, and that purpose was the execution of the decree of the 18th November, 1540; and the destruction by fire and sword, not simply of the twenty inhabitants of Merindol, contemplated by the decree, but of the entire population of seventeen villages. The instant that this sanguinary order had been thus fraudulently obtained, it was despatched by especial courier to d'Oppede, the president of the court of Aix, who, as instantly upon its receipt, sent instructions to M. de Grignan, governor of Provence, to assemble troops for its prompt execution. No notice was given to the doomed people, lest they should make their plaint before their sovereign, and thus lay bare the fraud of which he was the dupe and they were to be the victims. The soldiers were quietly collected, and they only awaited the arrival of one captain Poulain, baron de la Garde, who was shortly expected from Piedmont, on his way, with some troops, to Roussillon.

He came on the 7th April. Between the 7th and the 11th all the preparations were completed for carrying into effect this retro-active sentence. The 12th was a Sunday, but nevertheless, the court assembled at the summons of Menier d'Oppede. The attorney-general, Guerin, claimed at their hands the declaration of the decree; the court assented, named commissioners, and required d'Oppede, as lieutenant of the king in the absence of the governor, to support the decree of justice. D'Oppede at once sent word to the magistrate of Apt to take arms and seize all the heretics in the neighbourhood, and then despatched his commissioners to Pertuis.

The inhabitants of Lourmarin were ordered to prepare billets for a thousand foot and three hundred horse. The inhabitants replied by taking up arms. The order was repeated; they required a delay of twelve hours for reflection. "Subjects do not make terms with their sovereign," was the rejoinder. The chatelaine of Lourmarin, Blanche de Levis, came herself to intercede for her people, but she was not listened to. All in tears, she then addressed her vassals, and entreated them to avoid certain destruction, by laying down their arms. "Our destruction would only be the more certain and the more prompt, were we to lay them down," was the reply. "But let us depart quietly, and we will abandon our goods to those who seek them by our death."

The poor chatelaine, however, could do nothing. The dame de Cental also wrote to Oppede, entreating him to spare her vassals. But already captain Vaujuine had arrived at Cadenet, and the troops spread over the country, had begun to pillage and destroy. The first column, commanded by d'Oppede, marched upon Lourmarin; the second, under the baron de la Garde, on Motte and Cabriere d'Aigues; the third, under Vaujuine and De Redortier, towards Merindol and Cabriere du Comtat.

D'Oppede, on his way, began by setting fire to the houses in La Roque, Ville-Laure, and Trezeminès, which had been abandoned by the Vaudois; he did the same at Lourmarin, where a hundred and fourteen houses were destroyed. He then ordered the officers and consuls of Apt to assemble as many soldiers as possible at Roussillon, and to await his orders there.

On the 18th of April, the combined troops of Menier, Vaujuine, Redortier, and Poulain, appeared before Merindol; the inhabitants had retired, but a young man, named Maurice Blanc, who had been late in the fields, was seized by the pillagers. They tied him to an olive-tree, and the soldiers, converting him into a mark for their arquebuses, fired at him from a distance. The fifth bullet terminated his sufferings.

They then set fire to the village, which was entirely consumed. Some women having been surprised in the church, they were stripped naked, subjected to indescribable outrages, and then compelled to hold each other by the hand, as in a dance, were urged, at the pike's point, up the castle-rock, whence, already severely wounded and suffering, they were precipitated, one after the other, into the abyss beneath. Elsewhere many were taken and sold; one father had to travel to Marseilles to ransom his daughter. A young mother, endeavouring to escape across the fields, with her infant in her arms, was overtaken and outraged by these ruffians, pressing all the while her nursing to her bosom.

An aged woman at Lauris, between Cabrieres and Avignon, whose years saved her from this particular brutality, became in their hands an object of insult to humanity and to their own religion. They cut her hair in the shape of a cross, and having covered this tonsure with some tinsel, they led her through the streets, singing psalms derisively, in imitation of a procession of priests. Coming, at length, to a large oven, which was heated to bake a quantity of bread for themselves, the soldiers pushed their

victim to the opening with their pikes, crying, "Enter there, you old devil!" The poor creature, exhausted with her sufferings, was about to enter without resistance, but the soldiers who had prepared the oven would not permit this use to be made of it.

Signalizing its march by a thousand similar brutalities, under the most various and most revolting forms, the army reached Cabrieres. This fortified town, being within the pope's territory, could not have been touched without the consent of the pontiff, but the vice-legate Mormoiran had furnished d'Oppede with full power to act as he should think fit. The army came to the town on the 19th of April, and though this was a sabbath, at once commenced battering the walls. The Vaudois within, occupied in prayer, gave no indication of submission, and the firing continued all day and all night. On Monday morning it was stayed, and d'Oppede wrote to the besieged, that if they would open the gates of the town, they should receive no harm. He proceeded on the council of Constance, which declares that no one is bound to keep faith with heretics; but the Vaudois, less versed in canonical science than in the knowledge of the Bible, which inculcates only truth, relied upon the word of the king, as vouched by the president of the court of Aix, and opened the gates. The first troops which entered were those which the baron de la Garde was conducting from Piedmont, trained and hardy warriors, who were intended by the president to begin the carnage; but, knowing the stipulations of the surrender, the soldiers declared that their honour was concerned in its observance. The commissioners of the court of Aix and of the vice-legate proceeded to discuss the point. Meantime, Menier d'Oppede sent for the principal men of the place, who came without distrust. They were eighteen in number; their hands were tied, and they were passed among the troops, to which they made no objection, thinking they were merely there as hostages for the tranquillity of the rest of the population. But as they were traversing the ranks of the Provençal troops, commanded by d'Oppede, the son-in-law of this man, named de Pourrieres, cut with his sabre the bald head of an old man, whose faltering steps had accidentally approached too near the officer's feet.

"Kill them all," cried d'Oppede, when he saw the old man fall; and instantly the cowardly and fanatic troops whom he so fitly commanded, butchered the unhappy hostages, whose quivering limbs, as they lay in recent death, the same de

Pourrieres and the sire de Faulcon savagely mutilated. The heads of the murdered men were raised on pikes, and the soldiers being thus excited, the signal for general massacre was given. A number of women, shut up in a barn, to which fire was applied, sought to save themselves from the flames by leaping from the walls; they were received on the points of pikes and swords. Others had retired to the castle. "Death! blood!" exclaimed d'Oppede, as he pointed out to his soldiers the path to the asylum of the victims.

But the most horrible scene took place in the church. Hither the great majority of the women had repaired for refuge: the soldiers seized them, stripped them naked, outraged them in the most brutal manner, and then threw some of them from the tower to the ground, while others, after being dragged forth to glut the ruffianism of other soldiers who came up, were finally despatched by being eventerated. The horrors perpetrated on this, and on many similar occasions, were such as it is impossible to describe. The abbè Guerin, who was present at this massacre, states in his deposition that in the church alone "four or five hundred poor women and girls were outraged and slain."

The prisoners who were not put to death, were sold by the soldiers as galley-slaves. The vice-legate, indeed, acting in the true spirit of popery, refused to grant any quarter whatever. Having ascertained that twenty-five women, most of them mothers of families, had concealed themselves in a grotto near Mys, he ordered a party of soldiers thither to exterminate them, though the place was not within the papal territory. On reaching the mouth of the grotto, a discharge of musketry was directed within; no one came forth, fuel was piled up inside and a large fire lighted, and all these living creatures of God perished in the flames and the smoke. In this extermination, there were burned 763 houses, 99 stables, and 31 barns. The number of persons slaughtered was upwards of 3000.

While still at Cabrieres, d'Oppede received a message from the lord of the town of La Costa, entreating him to spare his vassals. This was on the Monday evening. "Let them make four breaches in their walls," replied d'Oppede, "and we will see." On the Tuesday morning these breaches were commenced, but when the inhabitants saw d'Oppede's troops advancing as to an assault, they hastily filled up the breaches they had made, and

closed the gates. The troops were fain to content themselves that day with destroying the gardens of the castle, which stood outside the town; the next morning, 22nd of April, d'Oppede wrote to the syndics of La Costa, undertaking that if the gates were thrown open, the inhabitants should receive full protection and justice; the gates were opened on the faith of this promise, and the furious soldiers rushing in, at once proceeded to the work of massacre, outrage, and destruction. There was a small warren behind the castle: hither the soldiers dragged their female captives to dishonour, before they slew them. One mother, after in vain seeking to defend her daughter from the brutal ravisher, stabbed herself, and then drawing the ensanguined knife from her wound, gave it to her child, as the last resource from dishonour.

An inquiry into these atrocities was instituted in September, 1551, by order of Henry II., who desired to free his father's memory from this stain of blood; the fraud by which the revocation of the king's pardon had been effected was laid bare, but though the advocate, Guerin, was punished with death, the great criminal, d'Oppede, not only escaped, but returned triumphant to Provence, where he was welcomed by the clergy, who had blasphemously offered up public prayers in the churches, "for the safety and speedy return of this illustrious defender of the faith," with *Te Deums*!

The few Vaudois who had escaped death, retired for awhile to the valleys of Piedmont.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VAUDOIS IN CALABRIA.

1400 — 1560.

THE first migration of the Vaudois of Piedmont from their own valleys to the richer land of Calabria, took place in 1340. By a convention with the local seigneurs, ratified later by the king of Naples, Ferdinand of Aragon, they were permitted to govern their own affairs, civil and spiritual, by their own magistrates and their own pastors. Their first colony was near the town of Montalto, and, from their having crossed the mountain frontier of Italy to reach it, was called *Borgo d'Oltromontani*. A half

century later, rose the town of San Xisto, which afterwards became the capital of the colony; other towns and villages of theirs were named Vacaresso, L'Arguelena, San Vincenzo, Le Rosse, contributing to create prosperity in a district that was previously well nigh desolate.

The marquis di Spinello, struck with the ameliorations effected by these industrious and upright men in the territories which had been ceded to them, invited a number of their body into his own states, gave them lands, aided them to build a town, and authorized them to surround this town with a wall, whence it derived the name of *La Guardia*.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, another migration of Vaudois took place, from Provence into Italy; these new colonists settling in Apulia, not far from their Calabrian brethren, built there several walled towns which they named after those whence they had come: *La Cellare*, *Faët*, *La Motte*. Again, in 1500, other Vaudois from *Frayssinières* and *Pragela*, established themselves in Calabria, on the small river *Vollurate*, which runs from the Apennines into the Bay of Tarento, whence they, and new comers, spread over other portions of the kingdom of Naples, even to Sicily. Agriculture, and the sciences, flourished among them: *Baarlam* of Calabria, of whom Petrarch was a disciple, was himself a disciple of the Vaudois. The missionary-pastors, whom the synod at home sent amongst these colonists, remained with them, two at a time, for the space of two years, and were then replaced by others, themselves visiting on their return to their villages, all the chief towns of Italy, in each of which they had brethren, more or less numerous. The Vaudois historian, Gilles, relates that his grandfather, on one of these pastoral visitations to Venice, was assured by the faithful when he conversed with them, that the city contained no fewer than 6000 members of that body.

Until 1558, the Calabrian Vaudois remained unmolested in their modest and tranquil retirement. In that year, having applied to the synod for the appointment amongst them of a permanent pastor, the application was granted, and there was nominated to the honourable, but perilous post, a young Piedmontese, a native of Conio, named John Louis Paschale, who, having quitted the career of arms to become a soldier of Christ, had prepared himself for the ministry by studies recently completed at Lausanne. Two days before his nomination to this

mission, he had been affianced to a young Piedmontese, Camilla Guarina; but both were christians, and resigned themselves to the separation. Paschale departed, accompanied by another pastor, Jacob Boveto, also a Piedmontese, and who suffered martyrdom at Messina, in 1560.

Upon his arrival in Calabria, Paschale began zealously to preach the gospel as publicly as it was preached at Geneva. Thereupon, there arose a report that a Lutheran had come, who was about to destroy everything with his doctrines; the ignorant murmured, and the fanatics vociferated that he must be exterminated with all his adherents. The marquis Salvator-Spinello, suzerain of the Vaudois, who was then at Foscaldà, a small town near La Guardia, sent word that some of their body must appear before him and explain their new proceedings; and, accordingly, a body of them, headed by Paschale, waited upon the marquis: this was in July, 1559. But the zealous young pastor had not to combat, as he had expected, honest errors, in a fair controversy, with evangelical texts and arguments. His enemies sought, not the truth, but silence; and, accordingly, after listening to Paschale for a few moments, the marquis, finding that submission was not to be expected from the Vaudois, dismissed the flock with a menace, and placed Paschale, and a fellow pastor, Marco Ascegli, who had accompanied him, in the dungeons of Foscaldà. Hence, after an imprisonment of eight months, they were, on the 7th of February, 1560, transferred to the dungeons of Cosenza, where Ascegli, after being subjected to the torture, was burned to death.

On the 14th of April, Paschale was removed from the castle of Cosenza, and, in company with twenty-two prisoners, condemned to the galleys, conveyed, under circumstances of great cruelty, to Naples, which they reached on the 23rd of April. On the 16th of May, he was taken in chains to Rome, and imprisoned in the Torre di Nona, in a deep, dark, damp dungeon, without the least furniture, or even straw to lie on, and where his arms were bound so tightly with small cords that they entered the flesh.

For three days several members of the holy office were engaged during four hours each day, in argument with Paschale, endeavouring to bring him to retractation, but in vain; and on the 8th of September, 1560, he was conducted to the Convent della Minerva, to hear his condemnation pronounced. On the following morning he was taken to the square in front of the castle of

St. Angelo, and there, in the presence of pope Pius IV., was strangled, his body burned, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber.

The attention of the holy office having been thus called to the Vaudois of Calabria, cardinal Alexandrini was despatched to San Xisto, in company with two Dominican monks. These wolves in sheeps' clothing, assuming extreme mildness of demeanour, assembled the inhabitants, assured them that no harm was designed against them, and that, if they would *merely* consent to hear no other preachers than those sent them by the Romish bishop, and dismiss the Lutheran pastors who were misleading them, they had nothing to fear. They then, in order to ascertain how many persons observed the practices of the Romish church, had the bell rung for mass, and invited the people to attend. Not one attended; but, on the contrary, the entire population of the town, with the exception of a few young children and aged persons, quitted the place, and withdrew to an adjacent wood. The popish commissioners, repressing their anger, performed mass, and then proceeded to La Guardia. Here, having had the gates closed, they assembled the people: "Dear and faithful friends," said they, "your brethren of San Xisto have abjured their errors and attended mass; we invite you to follow this prudent example, or we shall be compelled, much to our regret, to condemn you to death." The alarmed population, after some hesitation, consented to hear mass; and after the performance of this ceremony the gates were opened. When, however, some of the people of San Xisto came and revealed the truth, the population of La Guardia, indignant at the deceit which had been practised upon them, and ashamed of their own so culpable weakness, assembled in the market-place, resolved to join their brethren in the wood, and were only dissuaded from doing so by the representations of the marquis of Spinello.

The grand inquisitor now demanded that the public force should aid him in the complete execution of his mission; and two companies of soldiers were accordingly placed at his disposal. These he despatched to the wood of San Xisto, to seize the fugitives, but, instead of taking them prisoners, the fanatic troops no sooner discovered the unhappy Vaudois than they fell upon them, killed a great number, put to flight the rest, and pursued these like wild beasts. The fugitives at length attained some high rocks, where they entrenched themselves, and, as the soldiers came up, hurled upon them great stones, with such effect that

many were slain, and more wounded, so that the officers deemed it expedient to retreat, and to communicate the result to cardinal Alexandrini. The legate thereupon applied to the viceroy of Naples for greater force, wherewith to suppress this rebellion, as he called it, of the Vaudois; the viceroy himself marched to San Xisto, at the head of his troops, and there denounced fire and sword against all who should not abjure their heresy. The Vaudois, on their part, fortified themselves on the mountain tops; and their position became at length so formidable, that the viceroy, not venturing to attack them with the troops he had brought, put forth a proclamation by which he offered a free pardon to all exiles, outlaws, and other criminals, who would aid to exterminate the Vaudois.

This proclamation, so characteristic of popery, had the effect of collecting together a multitude of reprobates and marauders and bandits, many of whom were intimately acquainted with all the by-paths of the Apennines; and by these the Vaudois in the mountains were hunted down and slaughtered, some dying by the sword, some by fire, some by famine.

Meanwhile, the inquisitor and the monks were not idle. By a foul stratagem, they induced the surviving population of La Guardia, in number seventy souls, to assemble together, and, so assembled, they were seized by soldiers, concealed for the purpose, loaded with chains, and taken as prisoners to Montalto, where they were all subjected to the most cruel tortures by the inquisitor Panza, for the purpose of forcing them, not only to forswear their faith, but to forswear themselves, by admitting against their brethren and their pastors the pretended abominations which the corrupt imaginings of popery had conceived and laid to their charge. To effect a confession of these crimes from the agony of the Vaudois, was a grand object with the inquisitors; and one unhappy man, Stephano Carlini, says M'Orie, was, to this purpose, tortured in so horrible a manner, that his bowels gushed forth. Another prisoner, Verminello, having, in excess of pain on the rack, promised to attend mass, the inquisitor deemed him a likely person, under aggravated torture, to confess also to the crimes which the church of Rome so earnestly desired to bring home to the Vaudois; and the miserable man was accordingly kept for eight consecutive hours upon an instrument of suffering, aptly called *hell*; but he could not be brought to sanction the atrocious calumnies, an admission of which would

have released him from torture. Bernardino Conto was covered with pitch, and burned alive in the market-place of Cosenza. Another martyr, Mazzone, was stripped naked, his body shredded with iron whips, and the mangled frame then beaten to death with lighted brands. Of this victim's two sons, one was flayed alive, and the other hurled from the summit of a tower. From the same tower was precipitated another young man, who, for his prodigious strength, was surnamed Samson. As his mangled frame lay, still breathing, on the flag-stones below, the viceroy passed. "What carrion is this?" he asked. "It is a heretic, who will not die." The viceroy kicked the wretched man's head aside. "Let the pigs come, then, and eat him," said he; and the barbarous order was executed, the prostrate body of the martyr palpitating with life for still some hours, beneath the tearing teeth of the unclean brutes which a human brute far more unclean and foul than they had set to the work.

Sixty women of San Xisto, writes Gilles, had ropes bound round their bodies and limbs so tightly that wounds were made, and these festering, engendered corruption that was removed with hot lime. Afterwards, some of them were burned alive, others starved to death in their dungeons, while the handsomer among them were sold to satisfy the passions of the highest bidder. At Montalto, eighty-eight Vaudois prisoners were crowded in a low, damp dungeon. By order of the marquis Buccianici, the executioner came, took the nearest prisoner, led him outside, bound a strip of linen round his head, made him kneel, and cut his throat. Then, placing his knife between his teeth, and holding the ensanguined linen in his hand, the executioner returned to the dungeon, withdrew the next prisoner, and in like manner despatched him; and so with the rest, until on that blood-stained ground there lay the headless trunks of eighty-eight martyrs, gentle as lambs, and as lambs slaughtered. Other persons were sawed asunder. Others, eighty-six in number, having been first flayed alive, had their bodies cleft in two, and the ghastly portions were stuck on pikes along the high road, for the length of thirty-six miles, "a spectacle," writes Luigi d'Appiano, in a letter dated 27th June, 1561, "greatly consolidative of catholicism." The preachers and elders of the Vaudois were burned alive, their bodies being covered with resin and sulphur, "in order," according to the above writer, "that, being consumed slowly, they might suffer more in correction of their impiety." D'Appiano adds that "five

more women will be burned alive to-morrow ;" and his letter concludes with a brutal and disgusting jest upon the condition in which some of these unhappy matrons were at the time. Justly, indeed, has the church of Rome been designated the church of demons ! For two whole years did the fire and sword of anti-christ devour this unhappy district, and sixteen hundred victims gratified with their blood the sanguinary thirst of Rome. A few of the Vaudois effected their escape, and regained, with infinite toil, the valleys of their ancestors.

CHAPTER VII.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION IN THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS.— THE SYNOD AND THE BIBLE.

1520 — 1535.

UPON learning the progress of the Reformation in Germany, the Vaudois of Piedmont deputed two of their barbas, George Morel, of Frayssinières, and Pierre Masson (Latomus), to visit the reformers in Germany, and to confer with them. These had long interviews with Ecolampadius and others, on free-will, predestination, and other leading topics, and received from them evangelical answers, reduced to writing, which filled their hearts with joy. As they were returning home with their treasure, their conversation, at an inn in Dijon, revealed them to some fanatics as reformers, and they were at once seized. George Morel managed to escape with the letters and instructions he had received from the Lutherans ; but Pierre Masson was martyred on the 10th of September, 1530.*

After several conferences, at which the answers of the German reformers were examined by the Vaudois pastors, a great synod was held in the hamlet of Chanforans, in the valley of Angrogna. It began on the 12th of September, 1532, lasted six days, and was attended by representatives from all the Vaudois communes in Savoy, Italy, France, and Dauphiny ; by the entire Vaudois population all around ; by the seigneurs of Miradol, Rivenoble, and Solaro ; and by Farel and Saulnier, as representatives of the new era of evangelisation commenced in Switzerland. The first resolution, decreed by the assembled reformers, was, that a

translation into French of the Old and New Testament should be made from the manuscript Romane version, which had, from time immemorial, been in use among the Vaudois, revised by the original text. The synod next proceeded to discuss the articles in which there existed some diversity of opinion between the Vaudois and the new reformers.

I. The first question was — Whether it is permissible in a Christian to take an oath; and the reply was in the affirmative. II. The second question received the following answer: “No work should be called good, other than those which God has commanded: no work should be called evil, other than those which he has prohibited.” This doctrine, which seems to imply the possibility of indifferent things in the life of man, introduced a slight modification into the ancient creed of the Vaudois, by which all things in us were declared either good or bad, absolutely. III. Auricular confession was rejected, as contrary to scripture; but mutual confession and private reprehension were maintained. IV. *Question*: Does the Bible prohibit us from working on Sundays? *Ans.* Man should on that day occupy himself only with works of charity or edification. V. Articulate words are not indispensable in prayer: to kneel, to strike the brow, to tremble, and be agitated, are things superfluous. *Conclusion*: The divine service should be performed in spirit and in truth. VI. Is the imposition of hands necessary? *Ans.* The apostles and the fathers used the imposition of hands; but it is an external matter, to be left to the discretion of individuals. . . . XIII. *Ans.* Marriage is not prohibited to any one. XV. *Ans.* To impose a vow of celibacy is unchristian. . . . XVIII. All usury (*i. e.* any interest whatever on money lent) is forbidden by the word of God. XIX. All the elect were appointed before the creation of the world. XX. It is impossible that those who are elected to be saved, should not be saved. XXI. Whoever asserts free-will, completely repudiates the predestination of God. XXII. The ministers of God’s word should not be migratory, nor change their residence, except for the interest of the church. XXIII. They are entitled to possess, for the support of their families, revenues beyond the fruits of apostolic communion. XXIV. The sacraments are two: Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

The combined declaration terminated with a prayer that all the brethren in reformation might thenceforth live in union and co-operation. The declaration, however, was not unanimous,

there being several dissentients, and two of the pastors withdrawing altogether; so that this essay at union proved the cause of the first schism in the Vaudois church.

The four gospels had already, ten years before (1523),* been translated into French by Lefebvre of Etaples, and the rest of the New Testament, with some fragments of the Old, had been printed at Antwerp, between 1525 and 1534. The Vaudois Bible, translated by Olivetan and others, in pursuance of the resolution of the synod, was printed in Gothic characters, in 1535, at Neuchâtel; by "Pierre de Wingle, dict Pirot," and cost the Vaudois 1500 crowns of gold.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF VARIOUS MARTYRS.

THERE is no town in Piedmont, under a Vaudois pastor, where some of our brethren have not been put to death. Jordan Terbano was burned alive at Suza; Hippolyte Rossiero at Turin; Michael Goneto, an octogenarian, at Sarcena; Villermin Ambrosio hanged on the Col di Meano; Hugo Chiamps, of Fenestrelle, had his entrails torn from his living body, at Turin; Peter Geymarali, of Bobbio, in like manner, had his entrails taken out at Luzerna, and a fierce cat thrust in their place to torture him further; Maria Romano was buried alive at Roccapatia; Magdalen Foulano underwent the same fate at San Giovanni; Susan Michelini was bound hand and foot, and left to perish of cold and hunger on the snow at Sarcena. Bartholomew Fache, gashed with sabres, had the wounds filled up with quick-lime, and perished thus in agony at Fenile; Daniel Michelini had his tongue torn out at Bobbio, for having praised God; James Baridari perished, covered with sulphureous matches, which had been forced into his flesh under the nails, between the fingers, in the nostrils, in the lips, and over all his body, and then lighted. Daniel Revelli had his mouth filled with gunpowder, which, being lighted, blew his head to pieces. Maria Monnen, taken at Liousa, had the flesh cut from her cheek and chin bones, so that

* *Parts* of the sacred volume had been rendered into French, under the auspices of Peter Valdo.

her jaw was left bare, and she was thus left to perish. Paul Garnier was slowly sliced to pieces at Rora; Thomas Margueti was mutilated in an indescribable manner at Miraboco, and Susan Jaquin cut in bits at La Torre. Sara Rostagnol was slit open from the legs to the bosom, and left so to perish on the road between Eyrat and Luzerna; Anne Charbonnier was impaled, and carried thus on a pike, as a standard, from San Giovanni to La Torre. Daniel Rambaud, at Paesano, had his nails torn off, then his fingers chopped off, then his feet and his hands, and then his arms and his legs, with each successive refusal on his part to abjure the gospel. In March, 1536, Martin Gonin, pastor of Angrogna, was seized on his return from Geneva, at Grenoble, and, after a mock trial, taken from his prison at night, and drowned in the Isere. In June, 1556, Barthelemy Hector, of Poitiers, was burned at Turin, for having sold copies of the Bible to the shepherds of the Alps. In 1555, a pastor of Geneva, Jean Vernoux, one of the earliest fellow-labourers with Calvin, Antoine Laborie Quercy, who had quitted the magistracy in order to devote himself more actively to the cause of the gospel, and three friends of theirs, Batailles, Tauran, and Tringalet, were, on their way to the Vaudois valleys, seized by the *maré-chaussée*, in the gorges of the Col Tamis, and, after a lengthened interrogatory before the court of Chambery, were all burned in one fire.

Among the leaders who had signalized themselves by excessive ferocity in the crusade against the Vaudois, under Innocent VIII., was captain Varagle, or Varaille. A son of this man, endowed with remarkable capacity, entered into holy orders in 1522, and took up his abode not far from the Vaudois valleys, in the little town of Busque, one of the most retired in Piedmont. Here his rapid progress in literature and theology, and his eloquence in the pulpit, attracted the attention of his superiors.

The influence of the Reformation was now making itself everywhere felt; and the Romish church comprehended the essential importance of strengthening its power, which the synod of Angrogna had just aided to weaken. Young Geoffrey Varaille, selected to operate as a counterpoise to the impulse of reformation, received the difficult mission to visit the principal towns of Italy, and raise up the credit of the Romish church by his eloquent preaching. He was to be accompanied by an Observantine monk of the convent of Monte Fiascone, named Matteo Baschi,

the founder of the Capuchin order, and by ten members of the secular clergy.

These twelve being assembled together, proceeded, with a view to the accomplishment of their mission, to examine for themselves the arguments of the reformers against catholicism. It was not long ere their enlightened minds recognised the force of these arguments so fully, that, becoming themselves objects of suspicion to the popish authorities, they were all imprisoned at Rome, where they remained captives for five years. At the expiration of this period, Varaille, released from his dungeon, entered the service of the papal legate at the court of France, and abode with him at Paris for a considerable time. Here the rays of the Reformation fell upon his soul with still greater power than in Piedmont; and the massacre of the Vaudois of Merindol and Cabrierès, which became the subject of inquiry before the court of peers, so filled up the measure of his indignation and disgust against a church imbrued in the blood of the just, that he resigned the high position he occupied at Paris, and repaired to Geneva, to investigate, at the fountain-head, the *new doctrines*, as they were called, but which he, to his delighted surprise, soon learned to recognise, on the contrary, as the ancient, the primitive doctrines.

Varaille was now nearly fifty years old, but faith makes a man young again; and, full of an ardour he had never known before, he unhesitatingly cast off his past life, to commence a new one, with more of moral force than he had ever yet possessed, and was received among the ranks of those evangelical pastors whom, theretofore, he had approached as an adversary. The Vaudois churches required at this epoch a pastor who could preach in Italian. Geoffrey Varaille was selected for the duty, and was installed in the parish of San Giovanni, amid those very valleys against which his father had led a crusade. In 1557, on his return from a visit to his birthplace, Busque, he was denounced, at the foot of Monte Viso, by the prior of Staffarde, and apprehended by the nephew of the archdeacon of Saluzzo. He was treated with respect; handsome apartments were assigned him as a prison, and he was even permitted to go at large on parole. How many ordinary prisoners would have profited by this liberty to escape! But the christian is not a papist, with whom it is lawful to break faith with an enemy. Nay, having learned that the reformers of Bubiana, a portion of his flock,

were about to rescue him by main force, he desired them to abstain, and to leave him in the hands of God.

After various interrogatories he was conducted in chains to Turin. His replies to his judges, and the written propositions which he laid before them in support of his faith, are a monument of his talents, learning, and piety. During his detention, Calvin wrote thus to him from Geneva:—"Very dear and beloved brother: Though the news of your imprisonment has deeply grieved us, yet the Lord, who can shed light from darkness, has furnished us with joyful consolation, in the fruits already produced by your trials. Let the glory which sustained St. Paul also inspire you with courage; for though you are captive, the word of God is not captive, and you can render testimony of it to many who will spread abroad the seed of life they have received from your lips. Jesus Christ requires this testimony from all; but especially from such as you, under the seal of the ministry you received to preach the doctrine of salvation, which is now assailed in your person. Hesitate not, then, to confirm with your blood, if need be, the words which you have taught with your lips. Our Lord has told us that the death of the righteous is precious to him: let this reward suffice for you. I will not dwell on this point, persuaded that you repose firmly on him in whom, whether we live or die, abides our eternal happiness. My companions and brethren salute you.—Geneva, 17th Sept. 1557."

When the sentence of death was announced to the heroic Vaudois pastor, he replied calmly—"Be assured, messeigneurs, you will sooner want wood wherewith to burn us, than we ministers ready to burn in seal of their faith: from day to day they multiply; and the word of God endureth for ever."

Geoffrey Varaille, having been previously strangled by the humanity of the executioner, was burned at Turin, on 29th March, 1558.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF PAESANO,
PRAVIGLELMO, AND SALUZZO.

1550 — 1580.

THE most ancient establishments of the Vandois in the province of Saluzzo were around Paesano, and in the deep valleys of Cruzzol and Onzino, where the sources of the Po flow from Mount Visol. It has been stated that their origin in these localities was contemporaneous with that of the other Vandois who dwell on the left bank of the Po; but Gilly informs us that the inhabitants of Praviglelmo, Biolet, and Bietonnet, came from the valley of Luzerna. This emigration must have taken place at a very remote period, since it was its descendants who peopled the marquisate of Saluzzo; and we find Vandois there so early as the thirteenth century. In 1308, inquisitors were sent there "to destroy heresy;" but they were compelled by the population to withdraw, ere they had even begun their "pious labours." A similar attempt, a few years afterwards, had for its sole result the courageous martyrdom, at Saluzzo, of a barba, Martin Pastre.

It was not until 1499 that violence against the Vandois in these districts assumed anything of a systematic form. At this period, Marguerite de Foix, marchioness of Saluzzo; the slave of her confessor, became, in the hands of fanaticism, the facile instrument of persecution. Under the direction of the clergy by whom she was infested, she issued a decree, commanding the Vandois, under penalty of death, either to adopt catholicism or to quit the country. They adopted the last alternative, and withdrew among their co-religionists in the territories of the seigneurs of Paesano. Hither, the marchioness, "having purchased the right to pursue them," had them assailed by two hundred soldiers. Most of them fled to Barges with their herds, but some were taken and thrown into prison. They were tried, *with torture*, and on the 24th of March, 1510, five of them were condemned to be burned alive on Palm Sunday. The pyre was raised in a field opposite the house of the father of one of the victims, named Maynard; but when the day of execution came, there was so heavy a fall of snow and rain that the wood would

not burn, and the ceremony was postponed until the next day. In the meanwhile, however, a friend having conveyed a file to the captives, they effected their escape, and took refuge with their co-religionists at Barges. Three of the prisoners who remained were, however, burned alive on the 2nd of May; others died under the bastinado; others perished slowly in the dungeons of Paesano; a few escaped with exile; but the property of all was confiscated, and two-thirds of the proceeds went to the marchioness of Saluzzo, who was thus infinitely more than repaid the outlay she had undergone in the persecution.

On the 18th of July, 1510, the Inquisition demolished the Vaudois temple. This "*synagogue* of the heretics," says a contemporary manuscript, "was white and beautiful without, but within full of windings, like a labyrinth." In the year following, five more Vaudois were burned alive at Saint Frons. Meanwhile, all who escaped the fire and the sword, had taken refuge amongst their brethren in the valley of Luzerna, by whom they were fraternally supported for five years. From time to time, during this period, negotiations were essayed by them with the marchioness of Saluzzo, with a view to their return home; but their letters received no reply. It became necessary that they should no longer be a burden on their charitable brothers, and in 1512 they assembled, armed, in the valley of Rora, and, departing at night, traversed the mountains of Cruzzol, descended into the valley of the Po, reached their homes, fell like a thunderbolt on their despoilers, drove them from the district, and established once more, by their daring resolution, their own position and the faith of their ancestors.

For some years the churches of the valley of the Po were tranquil. The breath of the Reformation then began to arouse men's minds; and in the province of Saluzzo, the seigneurs of Montroux, of Villanova-Solaro, and others, opened their castle halls to meetings of the new reformers. The disciples of these rapidly increased; and until pastors of their own came, they repaired with zeal to the preachings which now took place regularly in the valley of Luzerna. The duke of Savoy made every effort to check this progress of protestantism, but in vain; and on the 6th of June, 1563, the church of Dronero, one of the most flourishing in the marquisate, obtained, under the edict of pacification which the king of Navarre had procured in favour of his co-religionists, letters-patent authorizing it to open a protestant temple at the

gates of the town. These letters were, by the influence of Mary de Medici, withdrawn in the same year, but the courage of the protestants was not quelled; and in the following years, they, favoured by the intestine agitations of France, organized themselves throughout the marquisate on the footing of the reformed churches, with pastors, deacons, consistories, and a regular, and even general, public worship.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS AND EXTINCTION OF THE REFORMATION AT CONIO AND IN THE PLAIN OF PIEDMONT.

1550 — 1580.

IN the space between Turin and the Vaudois valleys, there is probably not a single town in which the reformation of the sixteenth century did not find adherents and sympathy. Catholicism had fallen into utter degradation. Cornelio d'Adro, an inquisitor of Raccoms, writing to the holy office, on the 22nd of October, 1567, says:—"I cannot adequately depict the decay with which our religion is struck in this country; the churches are in ruin, the altars stripped, the sacerdotal vestments in rags, the priests ignorant, and everything connected with the church in utter contempt." In this juncture the abler partisans of Rome saw that their most efficient course for stemming the torrent of the new opinions, was in affecting to share them. "Reform is necessary," said they, "and the church herself will undertake it; do not, therefore, separate from her, or needlessly and unfilially assail her." Such was the language of Dominic Baronius, of Maximilian, marquis of Saluzzo, of Erasmus; and, to a certain extent indeed, of Melancthon himself. The Vaudois, however, would admit no concessions, insisting upon this declaration of our Saviour: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven." The papists at length (15th February, 1560) procured, from the duke, an order that none, save the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys themselves, should exercise the protestant worship, and that none should visit the valleys

merely for the purpose of attending that worship. The inquisitors forthwith commenced their persecutions throughout Piedmont, and two martyrs were burned alive at Carignano. The protestants, alarmed like a flock of sheep suddenly assailed, dispersed, those of Carignano and Vigone returning to Chieri, those of Bubiana and Briqueras to La Torre. The archers then proceeded to the valley of Meano, where they seized a number of Vaudois, and among them their pastor, Jacob, who, upon his reiterated refusals to abjure, was led to the stake, his mouth gagged and his arms bound, and burned alive by a slow fire.

The city of Turin belonging at this time to France, the catholic clergy obtained (17th February, 1561) from Charles IX., an order for the suppression, in and about the city, of the reformed worship. The protestant pastors were, in pursuance of this order, banished from Turin; but they would appear to have returned, since the order for their banishment had to be renewed in the following year. At the same time, Catherine de Medici wrote to the duke of Savoy, entreating him to extirpate the reformation from his territories. It was hoped by the reformers that Emmanuel Philibert would be induced by his wife, Catherine of France, sister of Henry II., and herself a protestant, to refuse his co-operation in the proposed persecution: but the influence of his uncle, Philip of Savoy, a devoted adherent of popery, aided by a special brief of pope Pius IV., dated 15th November, 1561, prevailed; and the assemblies of *The Religion*, for such was the admitted designation of protestantism, were, first, ordered to be watched by the authorities, and then, shortly after, to be altogether suppressed. All who were found *en flagrant délit* of common prayers and biblical meditations, were treated as high criminals. The reformers of Conde, of Ozasc, and Frossac, rather than attend mass, renounced their homes and their property, and took refuge among their brethren in the valley of Luzerna.

The churches of Conio and Caragli had acquired large extension. Men of the higher ranks were prominent in their flocks; and so long as their valour had been necessary to the duke of Savoy, in his wars as an ally of Spain against France, these seigneurs were permitted the free exercise of protestantism.

But peace was concluded; and the clergy superseding these war-men around the person of the sovereign, urged upon him that his glory was concerned in re-establishing, in its integrity, the

religion of his ancestors. The duke assented; and first, the protestants were forbidden to exercise their worship beyond the limits of the Vaudois valleys; and then, (28th September, 1561,) by an edict proclaimed at Coni, all the inhabitants were required to place in the hands of the magistrates any books *of the religion*, which they might possess. At the same time, the duke ordered all his subjects to attend the preachings of the missionaries he was about to send amongst them. The preaching of one of these missionaries informed the auditory that "God had given them a mild winter that year, that so they might economize wood for burning the Lutherans in the spring." It may be readily conceived that such eloquence as this produced no great effect. On the 28th of December, 1561, a fresh edict commanded all persons whomsoever to attend mass without any further delay; but scarcely any of the protestants obeyed the injunction, and the number of recusants being so great, no steps were taken, at the time, to enforce the decree.

In 1565, however, the duke having ordered the Vaudois of the valleys—to whom, in 1561, he had granted the free exercise of their religion—to abjure, within two months, the protestants of Conio were imperatively enjoined forthwith to attend before the magistrates, and make a declaration of Romish orthodoxy, under penalty of the severest punishments. Fifty-five families were found daring enough, in the presence of the authorities, to repudiate popery, and declare themselves protestants. The humbler among these, knowing the consequences of their recusancy, at once sold their little property and departed elsewhere. A few only, of the more powerful, obtained permission, on the guarantee, in each case, of a Roman-catholic proprietor, to retain their lands and their religion, on the condition that they should not exercise that religion, either in their own houses or elsewhere, under penalty of the total confiscation of all they were worth. Thus disappeared the church of God from the banks of the Stura.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF CARAGLI, CHIETI,
AND DRONIER.

1560—1605.

THE church of Caragli underwent much the same vicissitudes with those of Conio. In March, 1565, a list of the reformers there was required from the magistrates, and the number returned was nearly 900. In April, the duke of Savoy sent to Caragli a missionary, and with him an order for all the inhabitants to attend his preachings. The great majority of the reformers paid no attention to this order: thereupon the duke menaced all who should persist in their heresy "with his severest displeasure;" and on 10th June appeared an edict, ordering all protestants who would not, within the space of two months, abjure, to quit the territory. The duchess of Savoy, and the seigneurs of Villanova-Solaro, under whose protection the reformers had hitherto prospered, essayed to procure a revocation of this impolitic and cruel edict; but the influence of the catholic clergy prevailed, and on 30th November, the decree was carried into execution, popish charity taking the further precaution of prohibiting any of the surrounding populations from giving harbour or aid to the proscribed families who thus preferred exile to abjuration. The noble family of Solaro itself, which now consisted of six brothers, all protestants, was, upon its pertinacious adherence to the faith it had adopted, banished and dispersed some years afterwards, and its property confiscated.

Meanwhile, under French rule, the churches of Saluzzo enjoyed toleration; but their pastors were for the most part foreigners—Swiss, or Vaudois, or Piedmontese; and, taking advantage of this circumstance, the popish clergy induced the duke of Savoy to demand (1567), from the French lieutenant of the province of Saluzzo, the extradition of any of his subjects who might have taken refuge there; and the governor of Saluzzo accordingly ordered all foreigners to quit the territory within three days, and not to return, except upon special permission, under penalty of death and confiscation of goods. By the intervention, however, of Henry of Navarre, who had just married

the sister of Charles IX., this decree was withdrawn, and these churches seemed to have a chance of tranquillity.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew took place, and Biragne, the governor of Saluzzo, received orders to slaughter all the protestants within his jurisdiction. Appalled at these sanguinary instructions, he submitted them for consideration to the Chapter; and although several of its members were in favour of complete and immediate execution of the order, the majority, headed by the excellent archdeacon of Saluzzo, Samuel Vacca, insisted that so cruel a decree must be the result of some misconception or misrepresentation; and a delay was thus obtained, which saved the lives of the menaced brethren until the reprobation which speedily visited the cowardly slaughter that had taken place, ensured their safety.

In 1574, after the accession of Henry III. to the throne of France, the *maréchal de Bellegarde* was appointed governor of Saluzzo. A man superior to the prejudices of his age, the exact impartiality with which he treated all subjected to his rule excited the complaints of the catholic party, then all-powerful at court, and the marshal was accordingly invited by the king to resign his government; but the reformers, on the other hand, implored him not to leave them, and he remained at Saluzzo. The governor of Provence was thereupon ordered to march against him; but *Lesdeguières*, at the head of the protestants of Dauphiny, and of the *Vaudois* of *Luzerna* and *Pragela*, hastened to his support, and maintained him in his position.

Meanwhile, under the active direction of *Guerin*, pastor of St. Germano, the churches of Saluzzo acquired an organization similar to those of the valleys; and on 8th February, 1580, a general synod of these churches was held at *Château-Dauphin*. In the valley of *Maira*, the catholic chiefs made a common alliance with the protestants, "promising union and fellowship, abstinence from all mutual reproaches or insults by reason of religion, and reciprocal aid against all assailants whatever."

For a while the churches of Saluzzo remained peaceful and flourishing; but in 1597, *Charles-Emanuel*, having taken possession of the marquisate, called upon the churches of Saluzzo to return to the bosom of catholicism. The churches respectfully declined the invitation, and the duke did not further press the point at the time; but, becoming undisputed master of the territory under the peace of *Lyon* (17th Jan. 1601), he issued (June,

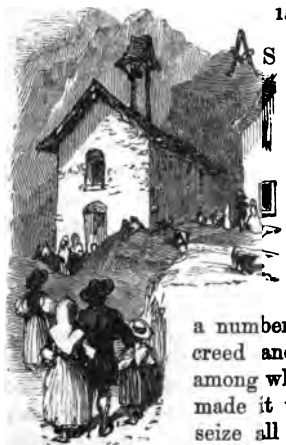
1601) a decree, ordering all the reformers to quit his states within two months, unless they abjured within a fortnight. The refractory were to be punished with death, and the confiscation of their goods. The reformers addressed humble but urgent memorials to the duke for the revocation of this decree; and in the hope that the storm would pass over, permitted the two months assigned to elapse without making any preparations for their departure. At the expiration of that period, they received orders at once to depart, or at once to abjure; and thus taken by surprise, solicited with urgent entreaties and promises on the one hand, and menaced for themselves and their families on the other, many of them, with hearts well-nigh broken, consented to enter the Romish church. The rest withdrew, some to Geneva, some to France, some to the Vaudois valleys.

As yet, no menace had been directed against the Vaudois of Praviglelmo and of the upper valley of the Po, where the evangelical worship had been exercised from time immemorial. When the Vaudois of the plain, however, were all banished or dispersed, the Vaudois of the hills were, in their turn, enjoined to abjure or to depart. But these hardy mountaineers, full of indignation at this invasion of their long-undisputed rights, assembled in arms, and having first menaced the catholics among whom they lived, with fire and sword, if during their absence any evil should happen to their wives and children, descended into the plain, took possession of the market-place at Château-Dauphin, and threatened to devastate the whole district if the edict against them was not withdrawn. The catholic population, who had ever found in the protestants good and peaceful neighbours, assembled, addressed a memorial to Charles-Emanuel, the edict was revoked, and for awhile the Vaudois of Praviglelmo escaped the proscription which fell so heavily upon their brethren.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CHRISTIANS OF BUBIANA, LUZERNA, CAMPIGLONE, AND FENILE.

1560 — 1630.



THE decree by which Emanuel-Philibert had, in 1560, prohibited his subjects from attending the protestant ministers in the Vaudois valleys, and the celebration of the protestant worship beyond the limits of those valleys, had imposed upon all who contravened it a fine of one hundred crowns, of which one-half was to go to the informer,

a number of zealous partisans of the catholic creed and of protestant cash, conspicuous among whom was count William of Luzerna, made it their business to watch for and to seize all such contraband worshippers; but this trade was stopped by the treaty of Cavour (5th June, 1567,) which permitted the

protestants of Bubiana, Fenile, Briqueras, and other towns near to the Vaudois territory, to take part there in the Vaudois worship. Numbers of the inhabitants of these towns who had been banished for their religion, now returned and regained possession of their lands and houses, and for some years this district enjoyed profound tranquillity. But, by degrees, the incessant machinations of the catholic clergy procured for them the ascendant; and at length, by an edict dated 25th of February, 1602, the towns of Luzerna, Bubiana, Campiglone, Briqueras, Fenile, Montbrun, Garsigliano, and St. Segon, were definitively detached from the territory of the valleys, wherein alone religious liberty continued. Immediately afterwards, the archbishop of Turin came to Luzerna, with an immense train of preachers and polemics, and, summoning before him the heads of the protestant families established from time immemorial in that town, announced to them that the duke, resolved no longer to permit two religions there, gave them the option, either

to embrace the catholic faith, or to sell their goods and to depart from his territories. Similar visitations were paid to the towns of Bubiana, Campiglione, and Fenile, and some of the leading protestants were summoned to an interview at Turin with the duke, who, by a direct fraud, induced several of these to abjure; but the fraud discovered, these deluded men, with bitter tears of penitence, recalled their abjuration, and shortly afterwards the protestants of the above-mentioned towns were ordered to catholicize, or to quit the territory within five days, under penalty of death and confiscation. The protestants hereupon essayed every means of supplication and remonstrance to effect a revocation of the decree; and at length, on the 20th of June, 1620, a decree was granted, of which, with the petition immediately leading to it, the following is a translation:—

“ Most serene lord,

“ The most faithful and most humble subjects of your most serene highness of the religion of the valleys of Luzerna, Perosa, and San Martino, and of the other places contiguous to them, having in times past obtained through the clemency of your highness, and also of your most serene father, of glorious memory, certain favourable grants concerning the exercise of their said religion, have always endeavoured to live conformably to them, in a christian manner, under the protection and obedience of your highness, in which they desire they may always quietly continue; but now finding themselves molested in consequence of the edicts, contrary to their grants aforesaid, which are said to be published in certain places of the said valley of Luzerna, and proceedings being made to put in execution the penalties contained in the said edicts, with threatenings of greater damage, they, assuring themselves that this doth not proceed from the intention of your highness, from whom alone, next under God, they expect, as from their natural and most gracious prince, a deliverance so necessary, they think fit to cast themselves at your feet, humbly beseeching that you would be pleased, according to your wonted goodness, to forbid all molestation of your said petitioners for matters of religion, restoring them into a peaceable condition; and, for this purpose, to confirm and grant them the humble petitions following.

“ PETITIONS.

“ ANSWERS.

“ First, that you would be pleased to confirm all the gra- “ As to the first, his highness confirms it, and commands that

cious grants made to them, as well by your most serene highness, as by your most serene father of happy memory, so that they may continue in the free exercise of their religion in the places hitherto tolerated and used, notwithstanding any order published, made or to be made to the contrary, and that you will annul all the proceedings, confiscations, declarations of penalties, fines and inquisitions made upon occasion of the said orders, restoring all those who have been disquieted or molested, so that they may hereafter live peaceably under the dominion of your highness, and that you will command that the said petitions may be granted and registered for them gratis, freeing them from the payment of the quos, decima, albergo, sigillo, signattura, and other charges whatsoever, which they hope to obtain, and they shall pray to the Lord for the happiness of yourself, and of the most serene princess. Registered 3, 170 register. First 245. I say 245. Registered in the chamber."

the grants made unto the petitioners upon the 9th of April, 14th of May, and last day but one of September, 1603, shall be observed as to the valleys of Luzerna, San Martino, and Perosa, together with Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarostino, and the other places in the grants, as is petitioned, and within the limits graciously tolerated, notwithstanding any other order unto the contrary; and also he gives unto them pardon and remission of all the penalties incurred for breaking his orders, and for other faults and excesses committed before the general pardon, notwithstanding the sentences of the captain of justice and the senate, derogating in this respect from that which the said pardon expresseth; and all this his highness hath done and doth of special favour, upon condition of payment of six thousand ducatoons, to be paid at the rate and according as usual, by the said three valleys; moreover that those of San Giovanni shall stop up the gate of the church newly made; and not otherwise, nor in other manner.

"The second and last his highness grants. Given in Turin, the 20th of June, 1620.

CARLO EMANUEL,
ARGENTERO,
CERNUSCO, CAITON.
ARNALDO MAGALLI,
Secretary."

In the following year, on the ground that some inhabitants of Campiglione had omitted to attend at Pinerola, for the purpose of the census, a further fine of 1000 ducatoons was levied upon the inhabitants of the valleys, who by these exactions were reduced to great distress. Of this distress, papism at once availed itself: agents of the catholic clergy went round to the poorest and most isolated of the suffering reformers, and promised not only to relieve them of their share of the fine, but to procure them an exemption from taxes, and present aid, if they would abandon protestantism; and many of these unhappy creatures, to save their families from starvation, yielded their souls to the tempter.

Under Victor-Amadeus I. orders were repeatedly given to the authorities of Luzerna, Bubiana, Bricherasio, Campiglione, and Fenile, for the extirpation of the heretics; but they do not appear to have been acted upon. In many of these towns, indeed, the reformers had become more numerous than the catholics.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVIVAL OF THE CHURCHES OF SALUZZO, AND THEIR FRESH VICISSITUDES.

1602 — 1616.

THE protestants in the province of Saluzzo were not limited to those of the churches we have enumerated; the fugitives from the large towns had retired to the remote villages in the valleys of the Stura, the Vrayta, and the Valgrano, and carried thither rays of the evangelical light, which spread and spread around the exiles, until, at length, these petty villages became new churches, enlarged, moreover, by many families who, having accepted, under compulsion, the external forms of catholicism, resumed their own faith when the storm had passed. But with the rising up of the faithful, arose also the persecutors; and the popish edict of February, 1602, prohibiting protestant worship beyond the Vaudois valleys, was converted into a formidable weapon against the protestants of Saluzzo. On the 12th of June, 1602, an edict was issued by which all the adherents of the "so-called reformed religion," within the marquisate of Saluzzo, whether natives or

otherwise, were ordered, either to embrace the Roman-catholic religion within a fortnight, or to sell their goods and depart the marquisate within six months, under penalty of death and confiscation. The protestants, preferring the pains of exile to the repudiation of their faith, quitted Saluzzo, and repaired in a body to that Ephraim, the Vaudois valleys. But as some of them took up their abode on the left bank of the Clusone, in the valley of Perosa, where by another edict (28th of May, 1602) the reformed worship was equally abolished, the Capuchin Ribotti availed himself of the circumstance to pursue the unhappy fugitives thither, and obtained authority from the duke of Savoy, (who vainly endeavoured to modify his ferocity), to employ the troops against the rebels. The latter, rendered desperate by the malignant inveteracy of the persecutions directed against them, assembled in the mountains, and being joined there by other outlaws, desperate as themselves, but excited for other and perhaps less just causes, formed themselves into bands, under the designation *digiunati*—expressive of their famished condition—and proclaimed themselves the defenders of the oppressed. As provisions were not to be procured on the mountains, these bands made frequent predatory incursions into the plain; the catholics became especial objects of their pillage, and many deplorable disorders took place.

The duke of Savoy directed the syndics of the districts infested by the *digiunati* to appear before the superior magistrates, who announced to each that he would be held responsible for all disorders that might be committed in his district. At the same time the protestants in the towns in the plain of Piedmont, along the confines of the Vaudois valleys, were ordered (May, 1602) either to catholicize, or to quit their country within a fortnight. The irritation of both parties was thus greatly aggravated, and as a climax of calamity, a famine, that visited the territory, fearfully augmented the distress of the banished protestants, in their wanderings about the states of Savoy. The *digiunati*, the general agents of depredation and revenge, continued to increase in numbers, despite the strict pursuit of which they were made the objects, and despite the prohibition to give them asylum, aid, or food. All the fugitive victims of persecution or hunger swelled their ranks, and they became more and more formidable. At length, the catholics, who could not venture to quit their houses for fear of the outlaws, initiated a negotiation, and the count of Luzerna called upon the reformers to draw up a memorial of

their complaints and their desires, which he undertook to lay before the duke. The memorial, signed by all the reformed and Vandois churches, from Suza to Conio, was presented to Charles-Emanuel (March 1603), who, fully comprehending the danger to both catholics and protestants, of perpetuating these fatal dissensions, decreed (9th of April, 1603), that all the exiles might return to their homes, that the confiscation of their goods should be annulled, and that catholicized protestants might, if their consciences so dictated, return to the church which they had quitted. Hereupon, the churches of Savigliano, Levadiggi, Demonte, Dronero, and St. Michele, rapidly collecting together their scattered elements, raised their heads once more, some of them still more potent than before; and this was especially the case in the valley of Vrayta. Not a few of the Romish monks and priests who came to combat the protestants in discussion, were subdued by their arguments, and embraced the new doctrines, which by degrees acquired so commanding a position that, according to the testimony of the popish historian, Rorengo, the catholics scarcely ventured to be seen going to mass, lest they should be assailed with cries of "*Idolatry!*"

In 1603, however, a number of Capuchin missionaries made their appearance in the district, for the purpose of instituting fresh persecution; and establishing missions at Caragli, Acelli, and Verzol, near Saluzzo, re-opened the abandoned catholic churches, revived the pomps of the catholic worship, and renewed the vexations against the protestants. The Jesuits, on their part, established themselves at Acelli, Dronero, San Damiano, and Châtean-Dauphin; and these two bodies, acting in emulous concert, proceeded actively with their evil work. The free exercise of the reformed religion was prohibited at Saluzzo, and in the valley of La Mayra, and all the protestants therein were required to catholicize. Inquisitors were sent from house to house, and more than five hundred families were compelled to expatriate themselves, some to Provence, where they augmented the Vandois churches of Leberon, others to Dauphiny, where they swelled the churches of Pragela. In 1610, the duke of Savoy formed an alliance with Henry IV. against the Spaniards; and in 1612 began the wars of Montferrat, which lasted four years. This period of political agitation was a period of tranquillity for the churches of Saluzzo. In 1612, various relaxations were made, at the instance of the king of France, in favour of the Saluzzian refugees in Provence and Dauphiny; and in 1613, the presence

of a body of Vaudois troops, who had been raised as a contingent in the Montferrat wars, and, garrisoned in the marquisate of Saluzzo, were accustomed to assemble for worship, gave a great impulse to religious liberty in that district. After a while, the reformers of Saluzzo themselves resumed the celebration of their worship, and a providential circumstance occurred to strengthen them in their great effort. In 1617, Lesdiguières, the head of the protestant party in France, sent by the French king with succours for the duke of Savoy, against Spain, entered Saluzzo. This illustrious general, indignant at the infinite oppressions of which his co-religionists had been the victims, interceded with their sovereign in their behalf; the court of Savoy saw the expediency of compliance, and accordingly, on the 28th of September, 1617, the duke issued a decree whereby he granted the protestants, refugees and banished from Saluzzo, permission to resume free possession of their goods and houses for three years; and in that time, to sell or dispose of them at their pleasure, taking care not to diffuse their heretical opinions, or to dogmatize, under penalty of death. All prisoners detained for the sake of religion, were to be set at liberty, and to enjoy the same privilege with the others; and all the confiscated property belonging to the foregoing was to be restored, subject to a reasonable indemnity to the present holders. This concession, unjustly limited as it was in point of duration, was received by its objects with gratitude, and, as the Capuchins complained, "the country, which in the evening seemed purged from heretics, swarmed with them in the morning, in the same way that, of old, the soldiers of Cadmus sprang, all armed, from the ground."

Public assembling for worship was prohibited to the protestants, but they met frequently in private, and, after awhile, night assemblies in the open air became of frequent occurrence. In the valley of Mayra, at Droniero, and elsewhere, the protestants actually outnumbered the catholics. Many, instead of selling their properties, purchased others; everywhere, under their auspices, industry, commerce, agriculture speedily acquired unwonted impulse; and they naturally imagined that the duke, so materially interested in the prosperity they were creating, would, for the future, encourage instead of persecuting them.

It is, indeed, worthy of earnest reflection, that in all the countries of the world where protestant ideas have become established, the people have prospered as though some invisible blessing had spread over them; wherever catholicism has most

potently maintained itself, there life has become extinct, and prosperity and morality have disappeared, as though under the influence of some mysterious malediction.

The incessant efforts of the bishop of Saluzzo, and of his subordinates, ecclesiastical and lay, were applied to the discomfiture of the protestants, by the aid of every description of chicanery, machination, and violence. In Easter, 1618, for example, an attempt was made to suppress, by the *letter* of the law, a private-worship meeting of the protestants of Dronero: first, because, the congregation being very numerous, a few were compelled to listen to the preacher from the steps of the house in which the service was being performed; and secondly, on the ground that to preach at all was to *dogmatize*, within the meaning of the duke's prohibition. This attempt was frustrated, after much suffering and alarm on the part of the protestants, by the mediation of Lesdiguières. Another mode of vexatious oppression practised upon the protestants, was the enforcement, upon all practical occasions, of the edict of 1618, by which protestants were forbidden, first, to assemble at the funeral of any of their faith, in a greater number than six persons; and secondly, to bury them in consecrated, or even walled ground; so that the faithful were compelled to deposit their departed in graves dug by the roadside, or in open ground, exposed to all comers, to all profanations. In 1619, a plot was framed by the Romish priests, for a general massacre of the protestant population of the province of Saluzzo; but the conspiracy was detected and defeated.

A brief of pope Gregory XV., dated 27th of May, 1621, conferred on the duke of Savoy the right of receiving, for six years, a tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues within his states, on the condition that he should apply this fund to the extirpation of heresy. The duke received the first instalments of this concession, and in February, 1622, the priests once more set about the persecution of all Vaudois and other reformers of Piedmont, who had not observed the narrow limits within which the territory of the Vaudois valleys had been circumscribed.

In the March following, the faithful of Praviglelmo and its contiguous communes were cited to appear before the prefect of Saluzzo, under pain of death and confiscation. They might very well have appeared in sufficient numbers to overawe their enemies; but under the influence of some fatal hesitation or timidity, they did not appear at all; and they were accordingly condemned (15th of March, 1622), as contumacious, to banish-

ment from the states of the duke, and to be hanged if they remained. As to their property, it is almost unnecessary to add that it was confiscated. This atrocious condemnation, however, was, at the intercession of Lesdiguières, allowed to remain inoperative.

In the same year was established the sanguinary congregation, *de propagandâ fide et extirpandis hæreticis*, which, for nearly a century was the most formidable weapon employed by fanaticism and error against the progress of biblical doctrines. It was in Piedmont especially that it exercised its most terrible ravages. In the marquisate of Saluzzo, where it was immediately put in operation, it became a permanent source of troubles and persecutions. In 1627, the valley of the Stura was cruelly harassed by the converters. From Caragli, the last vestiges of protestantism were extirpated by fire and sword. Not to attend mass was considered quite a sufficient ground for imprisoning a man. At St. Michele, Pagliero, Demonte, incessant persecution soon deprived these lately flourishing towns of the peaceful citizens who had created that prosperity, to people the prisons with victims, and the mountains with outlaws. Some of the numerous prisoners of the propaganda purchased their lives by a heavy ransom, the means amassed by a father for his children going to enrich convents and gaolers. Thus impoverished, decimated, proscribed, and persecuted, the unhappy churches of Saluzzo grew daily weaker and weaker.

In the upper valleys of the Po, at Arcino, Praviglelmo, Bietonet, the proscribed worship struggled on for awhile in poor cottages and Alpine huts. But it was not to be expected that this would continue long. In 1629, the count de la Mente, the duke's lieutenant-general in the marquisate, demanded from the faithful of Praviglelmo a contribution of 400 ducats. It was not immediately paid; and thereupon a body of troops was sent to Praviglelmo to ravage the lands, to seize the herds, and to pillage the houses of the unhappy Vaudois. The booty was transported to Paesano, and the Praviglelmese had to pay 1000 crowns for its redemption.

The accession of Victor-Amadeus to the throne gave fresh encouragement to the nuncio, the prelates, and all the representatives of popery, who, surrounding the new monarch with their adulations, urged upon him as a duty, as a glory, the extirpation of heresy. Notwithstanding the natural firmness of his character

and his wisdom in many respects, he gave way to their incessant entreaties, and on the 23rd of September, 1623, issued an edict by which the "heretics of Saluzzo, who had incurred the penalty of death by their pertinacious obstinacy," were granted a delay of two months, within which, "if they should abjure their errors in a form to be prescribed by the bishop of Saluzzo, they would be pardoned;" but otherwise they were to be permanently banished. Forthwith, the bishop of Saluzzo invaded the Vaudois villages with an army of monks and soldiers: a few families suffered themselves, in their utter misery and indigence, to be *converted*; the rest of the brethren, abandoning their goods, departed, and the last wreck of the Vaudois church, so long flourishing about the sources of the Po, became extinct.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SECOND GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE VAUDOIS OF THE VALLEYS OF PIEMONTE.

1520 — 1561.



WHEN the Vaudois had published their bibles and established their unity of faith with the reformed church, they began publicly to preach that good news of salvation, which theretofore had been preached only, as it were privately, in the houses of the barbas. Their first church was built in the autumn of 1555, at the village of Angrogna; their second, before the close of the same year, at Serres, a half-league distant. Both these temples still subsist. The other communes of the valleys were provided with churches in the course of the next eighteen months. But the edifices thus raised were soon to be cemented with the blood of martyrs. The court of Rome, when it saw seven christian temples thus rise in the valleys, when it saw Vaudois students abroad and foreign pastors in Piedmont increase in numbers proportionate with the increase of the biblical

flocks themselves, became alarmed, and applied itself vigorously to the work of suppression. The Vaudois valleys and the city of Turin belonged at this period to France; and on the return from Rome of the cardinal de Lorraine, and of the cardinal de Tournon, who had concluded, between pope Paul IV. and the king of France, a league against the Spaniards, the pope demanded from Henry II. the institution of severe measures against the heretics. The French monarch directed the parliament of Turin to take measures accordingly; and the parliament appointed two commissioners, San Juliano and Della Chiesa, to repair to the valleys, to make investigation and report thereon, and to take what course they should think fit for bringing back the Vaudois to catholicism. These delegates, attended by a numerous suite, reached the valleys in March, 1556, and commenced proceedings by menacing with the severest punishment all who should offer any resistance to their measures. After visiting Perosa, Angrogna, and other places, the commissioners repaired to Luzerna, whence they issued (23rd of March, 1556,) an edict ordering the Vaudois to abjure, and no longer to receive foreign preachers, other than such as should be deputed to them by the archbishop of Turin. One-third of the goods of all contraveners of this decree was to go to the denouncers of them. The Vaudois replied with a profession of faith, based on the Bible, in the spirit of which they declared their resolution to persevere, after the example of their ancestors. The commissioners, by order of the parliament, then proceeded to France, and laid a report of their proceedings before the king, in order to receive his further instructions. It was not until the following year that they returned to the valleys, when they informed the Vaudois that the king commanded them forthwith to embrace catholicism. Three days only were granted them for deliberation; but briefer space would have sufficed. "Prove to us," replied the faithful, "that our doctrines are not conformable with the word of God, and we are ready to abandon them; if not, cease to demand from us abjuration."—"We don't ask you for discussion," returned the commissioners; "we only want to know whether you will turn catholics: yes, or no."

"No!" replied the Vaudois. Thereupon (22nd of March, 1557), forty-six of their principal men were cited to appear before the court of Turin, on the 29th, under penalty of a fine of 500 gold crowns for each disobedience. Not one of them appeared. A month afterwards, fresh citations were served

upon them, and also upon all their pastors and schoolmasters. These citations were equally fruitless. The syndics were ordered to arrest them, but the order was not obeyed; and the war of Spain and England against France, the mediation in favour of the Vaudois of the Swiss cantons, and the resumption of his states by Philibert-Emanuel, who, in 1559, married the sister of Henry II., a lady favourable to protestantism,—combined, for a time, to restore peace and security to the Vaudois valleys. The pertinacious solicitations, however, of the nuncio, the prelates, the king of Spain, and several of the princes of Italy, so far prevailed with the duke, that on the 15th of February, 1560, he issued a decree prohibiting all persons who were not actually inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys from repairing thither to hear the reformed preaching; and immediately afterwards commissioners were appointed to prevent the biblical worship from being celebrated beyond the confines of these valleys. These commissioners were, the duke's brother, Philip of Savoy, count de Racconis, George Costa, count de la Trinité, and the grand inquisitor of Turin, Thomas Jacomel, an iron-hearted, profligate, grasping man. The count de Racconis soon retired in disgust from the commission, leaving the two others to pursue their career of blood.*

* The manly firmness, tempered with mildness and christian meekness, with which the persecuted Vaudois used to touch upon their wrongs, cannot be more thoroughly illustrated than in the following petition, presented by them to Philibert-Emanuel:—

“A supplication of the poor Waldenses, to the most serene and most high prince, Philibert-Emanuel, duke of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, our most gracious lord.

“Festus, governor of Judea, being required by the chief priests and elders of the people, to put to death the apostle Paul, answered no less wisely than justly, that the Romans were not wont to put any to death, before they had brought his accusers face to face, and given him time to answer for himself. We are not ignorant, most gracious prince, that many accusations are laid against us, and that many calumnies are cast upon us, to make us objects of abomination to all the christians and monarchs in the christian world. But if the Roman people, though pagans, were so equitable as not to condemn any man before they knew and understood his reasons; and if the law condemns no man (as it is testified by Nicodemus, John vii.) before he hath been heard, and before it is known what he hath done, the matter now in question being of so great concernment, namely, the glory of the most high God, and the salvation of so many souls, we do implore your clemency, most gracious prince, that you will be pleased to lend a willing ear to your poor subjects, in so just and righteous a cause.

“First, we do protest, before the almighty and all-just God, before whose tribunal we must all one day appear, that we intend to live and die in the holy faith, piety, and religion of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that we do abhor all heresies that have been, and are, condemned by the word of God.

“We do embrace the most holy doctrine of the prophets and apostles, as

The monks of the abbey of Pinerolo hired a band of marauders, whom they sent forth to pillage the protestants, and to bring them, women and men, to the monastery, where the poorer sort were burned alive, or sent to the galleys, and the richer imprisoned until they paid ransom. The valley of San Martino was

likewise of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds: we subscribe to the four councils, and to all the ancient fathers, in all such things as are not repugnant to the analogy of faith.

"We do most willingly yield obedience to our superiors; we ever endeavour to live peaceably with our neighbours; we have wronged no man, though provoked; nor do we fear that any can, with reason, complain against us.

"Finally, we never were obstinate in our opinions; but rather tractable, and always ready to receive all holy and pious admonitions, as appears by our confessions of faith.

"And we are so far from refusing a discussion, or rather a free council wherein all things may be established by the word of God, that we rather desire the same with all our hearts.

"We likewise beseech your highness to consider, that this religion we profess, is not ours only, nor hath it been invented by man of late years, as it is falsely reported; but it is the religion of our fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, and other yet more ancient predecessors of ours, and of the blessed martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles; and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe, and yield thereunto. The word of God shall not perish, but remain for ever; therefore, if our religion be the true word of God, as we are persuaded, and not the invention of men, no human force shall be able to extinguish the same.

"Your highness knows that this very same religion hath, for many ages past, been most grievously persecuted in all places; but, so far from being abolished and rooted out thereby, that it hath rather increased daily; which is a certain argument that this work and counsel is not the work and counsel of men, but of God, and therefore cannot be destroyed by any violence. Therefore, we beseech your most serene highness to consider what it is to undertake anything against God, that so you may not imbue your hands in innocent blood! Jesus is our Saviour: we will religiously obey all your highness's edicts, as far as conscience will permit; but when conscience says nay, your highness knows we must rather obey God than man: we unfeignedly confess that we ought to give Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar, provided we give also to God what is due to him.

"There want not those who will endeavour to incite the generous mind and courage of your highness, to persecute our religion by force of arms. But, O magnanimous prince, you may easily conjecture to what end they do it, that it is not out of zeal to God's glory, but rather to preserve their own worldly dignities, pomp, and riches; wherefore, we beseech your highness not to regard or countenance their sayings.

"The Turks, Jews, Saracens, and other nations, though never so barbarous, are suffered to enjoy their own religion, and are constrained by no man to change their manner of living and worship: and we, who serve and worship in faith the true and almighty God, and one true and only sovereign, the Lord Jesus, and confessing one God and one baptism, shall not we be suffered to enjoy the same privileges?

"We humbly implore your highness's goodness, and that for our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, to allow unto us, your most humble subjects, the most holy gospel of the Lord our God, in its purity; and that we may not be forced to do things against our consciences; for which we shall, with all our hearts, beseech our almighty and all-good God to preserve your highness in prosperity."

ravaged by the seigneurs of Perrier, Charles and Boniface Truchet. On 2nd April, 1560, before daybreak, they assailed the village of Bioclareto, killed many of the inhabitants, drove forth the rest, without clothes or food, to suffer cold and hunger on the snow-clad mountains, and took possession of their dwellings, vowing that no one should re-enter them until he had promised to go to mass. It was not until three days afterwards that the despoilers were expelled from the village by its surviving population, with the aid of four hundred Vaudois from Pragela, who had marched to reinstate their brethren.

Meanwhile, the count de Racconis, who had repaired to the valley of Luzerna, attended one day the preaching of the pastor of Angrogna, and was so much struck with it, that he obtained from the Vaudois a detailed statement of their doctrines, which he promised to lay before the pope, in the hope that it might tend to a discontinuance of persecution. But the pope, Pius IV., replied—"I will never permit any discussion on points canonically determined. The dignity of the church demands that all should submit, implicitly and without question, to its constitutions; and it is my duty to proceed, with the utmost rigour, against all who will not so submit." All that the pope would concede was, that a legate should proceed to the village, to absolve "from their past crimes," all who would catholicize, and instruct them *without* dispute, that is to say, without examination, in their new duties. Accordingly, the commander of Fossano, Possevino, was appointed legate by Emanuel-Philibert, with instructions to establish, in the Vaudois churches, *Brothers of Christian Doctrine*, under whose influence intellectual servility would soon have produced that abject submission so essential to the Romish church.

Possevino proceeded first to the castle of Cavour, whither he summoned the Vaudois of the valley of Luzerna to attend him, by deputies. Three deputies were sent accordingly, and to these the commander, having notified his powers, put the question, whether they would attend the preachings which he himself proposed to address to the population of the valleys? "Yes," replied they, "if you preach the word of God; but if you preach the human traditions that destroy the word, No!" Possevino, without any appearance of being offended with this freedom, replied, that he would preach nothing but the pure gospel.

At this moment a Vaudois of San Germano appeared before

the commander, to complain that the catholics of Miradol, having first despoiled him of his cattle, had despoiled him also of a hundred crowns, which with much pains he had collected for their ransom, keeping both cattle and money too. "If you had gone to mass," insolently replied Possevino, "this would not have happened to you. I shall do nothing for you. This is but the commencement of what has been reserved for the heretics!" Such was the first example of justice and pure evangelical doctrine furnished by the representative of the Romish throne and of the church!

The next morning he ascended the pulpit of the great church of Cavour, and, in a fervid harangue, announced that he was about to convict all the Vaudois pastors of heresy, to expel them, and to re-establish mass in the villages. Two days afterwards, he preached at Bubiana, denouncing terrible menaces against the hardened, and making magnificent promises to such as would abjure. At San Giovanni he invited the heads of the Vaudois churches to a conference.

"Here," said he, "is the statement of the doctrines which you profess, which you yourselves have delivered to his highness. Do you abide by it?" "We see no reason to depart from it." "You undertake therein to repudiate your errors when they shall be demonstrated to you as such?" "We renew the undertaking." "Well, then, I will demonstrate to you, that the mass is found in Scripture. The word *massah* signifies *sent*, does it not?" "Not precisely."* "The primitive expression, *Ita, missa est*, was employed to dismiss the auditory, was it not?" "That is quite true." "Well, then, you see, gentlemen, that the mass is found in the Holy Scripture!"

To this ludicrous argument the Vaudois replied, that even had the term *massah* the meaning in Scripture which the commander supposed—which it had not—it would in no degree prove the divine institution of the mass; and that assuredly private masses, transubstantiation, and other points contested by them, were in no such way justified by his proposition.

"You are heretics, atheists, reprobates!" exclaimed Possevino, furiously. "I came not here to dispute with you, but to drive you from the country, as you deserve;" and he forthwith sent orders to the syndics of the various communes of the valleys, to expel their pastors, and to provide for the support of the priests

* *Massah*, in Hebrew, means burden, decree, or present.

whom he would send in their place. The syndics replied that they would only dismiss their pastors in the event of their being convicted of errors in doctrine or conduct; and that they would not provide for the support of the other persons announced, unless they were equally irreproachable in conduct and doctrine.

The intercession of the good duchess Marguerite in favour of the Vaudois, was ineffectual against the machinations of the nuncio and the prelates; and in October, 1560, the duke levied troops in Piedmont, and offered free pardon to all convicts, outlaws, and vagabonds who would enrol themselves as volunteers to serve against the Vaudois. The faithful seemed menaced with total and inevitable destruction: their foes rejoiced, their friends trembled. Among the latter, count Charles of Luzerna, then governor of Mondovi, urgently entreated the Vaudois, both by letters and in person, to yield to circumstances, at least so far as to send away their pastors until the storm should have passed over; but the zealous folk refused, saying, that were they to be ashamed of God's ministers, God would be ashamed of them.

War was accordingly declared. The Vaudois families hastily occupied themselves in collecting together such things as were indispensable to life, in order to be ready to retire with their herds into the mountains. The zeal and fervour of the pastors were redoubled. Never had the religious assemblings of the faithful been more numerous. The hostile army approached: the Vaudois fasted, prayed, celebrated the Lord's Supper, and then prepared, without fear, nay, with joy, to receive from the hands of God, all the trials to which He might think fit to expose them. The mountain paths resounded with the psalms and hymns of those who were conveying the aged, the infirm, the women, the children, household goods and provisions, to the surest retreats among the hill tops. The counsel of the pastors, indeed, was that they should not attempt to defend themselves with arms, but simply retire from aggression, or await martyrdom amid their families.

On the last day of October, 1560, a proclamation was posted in all the villages of Angrogna, that the Vaudois would be destroyed by fire and sword, unless they returned to the Romish church; and on the 1st of November, the popish army, under the command of George Costa, count de la Trinité, encamped at Bubiana. Levied in haste, and from all classes of desperate adventurers, these troops, wholly destitute of discipline, gave

way to every sort of excess, pillaging before they had struck a blow, and making no distinction, even, between catholic and protestant. The former, to preserve the chastity of their daughters from the gross brutality of these ruffian soldiers, adopted a course involving the highest testimony ever rendered to the virtues and generosity of the Vaudois. Knowing the austere purity of Vaudois manners, the strength of their retreats, the valour of the defenders of those retreats, these retreats appeared to them the surest asylum for their children, and accordingly, at the very moment that catholicism was marching in arms against the Vaudois, the Vaudois were made the depositaries of the menaced honour of the daughters of the catholic population. And nobly was this confidence justified: the Vaudois defended the sacred deposit thus confided to them, with the same courage, and respect, as their own families, exposing themselves equally in their defence, and when the danger was over, restoring them to their parents, without a thought of recompence.

On the 2nd of November, the army crossed the Pelice, and encamped in the meadows of San Giovanni. Thence it advanced towards Angrogna, deploying its wings on the hills of Le Cotiere. Several skirmishes took place at this point with about equal advantage, though many of the Vaudois had only slings and cross-bows; but the small defence-parties left of the Vaudois, were too distant one from the other, to act with vigour. They accordingly retired, fighting as they went, to the higher grounds. The enemy followed, but evening had now drawn in, and both parties were wearied with the day's skirmishings. On the summit of Le Cotiere, towards Roccamanante, the Vaudois halted. The enemy, thereupon, also halted, a short distance below, and lighted their fires for the bivouac of the night. The mountaineers, on the contrary, threw themselves on their knees, to offer up thanks and supplications to God, a proceeding which excited infinite laughter and jests on the part of the persecutors.

At this moment, a Vaudois child who had got hold of a drum, and carried it off to a ravine near at hand, beat it; and at the sound, the catholic soldiers, conceiving it to announce the approach of fresh enemies, rose in disorder and seized their arms. The Vaudois, observing this movement, and apprehending an attack on themselves, dashed down to repel it. The popish troops, fatigued and taken by surprise, gave way, and on being more closely assailed, threw down their arms, and fled down to

the valley, thus losing in half an hour, all the ground it had taken them a day to acquire. The Vaudois, after thanksgiving to God, took possession of the abandoned arms, and made their way to Pra-del-Tor.

Next morning, the count de la Trinité, having rallied his troops, encamped at La Torre, repaired its fortifications, and placed a garrison there, who behaved so outrageously, that the catholics of the place were fain to send their wives and daughters away, and to place them under the safe-guard of the Vaudois.

The small fortresses of Villaro, Perosa, and Perrier, were, in like manner, garrisoned with troops. On Monday, the 4th of November, a detachment from La Torre, augmented on the way by the garrison of Villaro, attacked Tagliaretto, but were defeated with considerable slaughter. A similar attempt upon Pra-del-Tor was similarly unsuccessful; and on the 9th of November, the popish general announced that if the Vaudois would lay down their arms, he would go with a small train to celebrate mass at Angrogna, and then apply his utmost efforts to obtain peace for them. The Vaudois passed a whole night in deliberation whether they should consent; the desire to manifest their pacific tendencies, to give no pretext to their enemies for violence, and to omit no chance of terminating the war, prevailed, and they determined to accept the count's proposition.

The count de la Trinité having celebrated mass at Angrogna, without calling upon any of the reformers to attend, intimated a desire to visit Pra-del-Tor, a place celebrated among the Vaudois as the ancient school of their barbas; and, as the count consented to leave his troops behind him at Angrogna, the Vaudois assented to the visit.

Pra-del-Tor is situated in a verdant hollow, surrounded by rugged heights, looking from above, like a crater, but below, like an oasis around the desert. The sole access is a narrow, tortuous path along the edges of the rocks. The population received the count with respect, and he appeared affected by their reception. On his return, at Serres, he had a soldier hanged for having stolen a fowl, but at Angrogna, once more surrounded by his troops, he felt it unnecessary to wear the aspect of over-clemency, and accordingly took no notice of many outrages which, during his absence, had been committed by his men, but returned to La Torre, leaving his secretary at Angrogna to receive the memorial which he had desired the Vaudois to



PASS OF THE FRA DEL TOR.

draw up for presentation to their sovereign. This memorial, which protested the loyalty of the persecuted folk, and entreated the duke to leave their conscience free, in order that his own might not stand laden with the weight of their death before the judgment seat of God, was conveyed to Vercelli by several Vaudois deputies, to be laid before the duke.

During their absence the count de la Trinité called upon the people of Tagliaretto to lay down their arms, his intention, doubtless, being to avail himself of their defencelessness, to turn that bulwark of the Pra-del-Tor. The people of Tagliaretto went to deliberate on this proposition with those of Bonneto, and while they were absent on this mission, the enemy, eager for violence, attacked their village, plundered and burned their houses, and carried off as prisoners their wives and children. The men assembled at Bonneto, on hearing what had taken place, hastened in arms after the marauders, rescued the captives, and dispersed the enemy. One aged Vaudois, assailed by a popish trooper, fell on his knees to implore mercy; the soldier raised his sword to strike, but, at the instant, the old man seized him by the legs, threw him down, and himself leaping from a precipice, dragged the enemy with him into eternity. All the Vaudois had quitted the lower portions of the valley for the mountains. The troops of the count de la Trinité having mercilessly ravaged the deserted villages, ascended to Villaro, where a few inhabitants still remained, whom they took prisoners. It was here that a popish soldier of Mondovi ferociously exclaimed: "I'll take some heretic's flesh home with me!" rushed upon a Vaudois, and biting a large piece of flesh from his cheek, swallowed it.

The Vaudois sought the count de la Trinité, and respectfully, but with firmness, remonstrated against these acts of violence. "Is it not the custom," they asked, "to abstain from hostilities, pending a capitulation? We have laid down our arms, relying upon your word, and now, doubtless against your intentions, your troopers commit all sorts of excesses upon us." The count assured them that had he been present, these things should not have happened, and he returned the prisoners. The booty, however, he kept.

The irritation of the Vaudois was aggravated by incessant harassings; at length, the count de la Trinité, having assembled their leaders "to discuss the bases of a solid accommodation," promised to withdraw his army, on condition that the Vaudois would undertake to pay a sum of 20,000 crowns.

"I will get the amount reduced to 16,000 crowns," said the worthy secretary of this worthy master, "if you will give me 100 crowns for myself." The bargain was made, and the Vaudois consented to pay 16,000 crowns (2000*l.*) The duke abated one-half of this sum; the Vaudois, who had nothing left them but their herds, were compelled to sell these, in order to raise money for the payment of the tribute; but here again they were defrauded: George Costa, for a sum of money, sold to a few monopolists the right of purchasing the herds, which thus, in a restricted market, were sold for much less than their value. By this sacrifice of their last remaining means, the Vaudois raised 8000 crowns, which were duly paid to the duke. The army should now have withdrawn; it did not stir; the Vaudois remonstrated to the general. "You must give up your arms," said he. Some arms were surrendered. "And now," said the general, "before we go, you must give me an undertaking to pay 8000 crowns; you engaged to pay 16,000, and you have only paid 8000." "But the duke exempted us from paying the remainder." "That is no affair of mine; you promised to pay 16,000 crowns, and you shall pay it." The obligation to pay the further 8000 crowns was signed. "Now, then, you will remove your troops?" "Not till you have sent away your pastors: it was principally for that object I came." The Vaudois, in despair, impoverished and defenceless, had no alternative but to make this agonizing concession also. They resolved to conduct their pastors to Pragela, which at that time belonged to France, hoping, ere long, to bring them back again. The road by the plain being infested by marauders and assassins, and especially by those in the pay of the monks of Pinerolo, it was determined to traverse the Col Julian. This plan having become known to the enemy, an ambush was laid for the pastors near Bobbio; the pastors escaped, and the marauders indemnified themselves by pillaging all the houses in the locality, under pretence of seeking the fugitives.

The count de la Trinité withdrew his army, indeed, but it was only into the valley between Briqueras and Cavour; and he left strong garrisons in La Torre, Villaro, Perrier, and Perosa, whom the Vaudois were compelled to support—sheep nourishing wolves.

A party of the garrison of La Torre, commanded by one Bauster, proceeded one day to a village on the road to Angrogna, and ordered the inhabitants to entertain them. The poor Vaudois produced the best provisions they had; after eating and drinking

their fill, the troopers closed the doors of the courtyard in which they were seated, seized the men who had been waiting upon them, bound them, and carried them away prisoners to La Torre. The unhappy creatures were released a few days after, on payment of ransom; but they had been so cruelly maltreated by the catholics that one of them died in agony the day after his return home, and another only survived to endure a long martyrdom, from the sufferings he had undergone. The flesh of his feet and hands torn away by torture, hung in shreds, the bones fell off one after the other, and he remained a cripple for life. The same party, under the same leader, surprised in like manner the village of Bonneto, and carried off two brothers, John and Odar Geymeto, whom they put to a cruel death.

I speak not of the young women and girls who were seized and taken into these dens of iniquity; the atrocious outrages to which they were subjected may not be described.

The deputation sent to Vercelli did not return until January, 1561. Their mission had proved wholly futile. After harassing them, day after day, for more than six weeks, with a succession of monks and priests, who essayed to win them over to the mass, they were dismissed with the assurance that unless they and those they represented, forthwith abjured, they should be all exterminated, and they learned that whole troops of idolaters, monks, and priests, were about to be let loose upon their valleys. Such intelligence as this might well have been expected to spread depression and despair through these valleys; but, on the contrary, no longer fearing to compromise their deputies, who were returned, or their goods, which were gone, or peace, which was manifestly impracticable, the Vaudois reinstated, in each parish, the pastor whom they had removed, raised up their levelled temples, and resumed everywhere the songs, the labours, the duties, the joys, and the occupations of their wonted biblical life, fully resolved to defend these and each other. At the same time came letters from Switzerland and Dauphiny, wherein their brethren exhorted them to maintain their courage, placing all their confidence in God. These brethren themselves furnishing a signal example of what they taught; for the reformation in France was now furiously persecuted by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, whom the feeble Francis II. had placed, the one at the head of his armies, the other at the head of his council; never was religious fanaticism so potent; yet toleration and the Bible

had also illustrious defenders. The prince de Condé became the chief of the reformers, and the chancellor de l'Hopital saved them from the inquisition, by the institution of the *Chambre Ardente*, a tribunal established, in the heart of the parliament itself, for the cognizance of heresy. Dangers bring men closely together; the valley of Pragela, which then belonged to France, was menaced with the same calamities that threatened the valley of Luzerna. Thereupon took place one of those grand and solemn scenes, which, at once heroic and religious, seem rather adapted for an epic poem than for grave history.

Deputies of the Val Pelice, or Val di Luzerna, repaired to the Val Clusone, or Val di Pragela, to renew, in the presence of God, the alliance which had ever existed between these primitive churches of the Alps. This alliance was sworn by the combined people, assembled on a plateau of snow, facing the mountains of Sestrieres and the chain of the Gunivert. Then the inhabitants of Pragela sent, in their turn, delegates and pastors into the valley of Luzerna.

They reached it on the 21st of January, 1561. The evening before, there had been published, throughout the valley, a ducal proclamation, that, within twenty-four hours, the inhabitants were to decide upon going to mass, or were to be subjected to all the punishments reserved for heretics: to fire, to sword, to cord, the three arguments of catholicism. The expiration of this term coincided exactly with the arrival of the Pragelese pastors at Puy, a hamlet built on a verdant slope at a short distance from Bobbio. The pastor, elders, deacons, and faithful of Bobbio and the contiguous hamlets, at once ascended to Puy, to inform the new comers of the sad calamities to which they were reduced; and there, after earnest prayers to God, for his counsel and aid, considering that no Vaudois would abjure, that it was impossible for them to procure an asylum elsewhere, that it was absolutely determined to crush them, a thing which even a worm will not endure without resistance, it was resolved, with solemn enthusiasm, that they would defend themselves and one another to the death.

Such was the opening of the most brilliant campaign ever accomplished by persecuted heroes against persecuting fanatics.

The delegates of Pragela and of Luzerna, standing erect in the centre of the kneeling and enwrapt people, pronounced these words:—

“In the name of the Vaudois churches of the Alps, of Dau-

phiny, and of Piedmont, which have ever been united, and of which we are the representatives, we here promise, our hands on the Bible, and in the presence of God, that all our valleys shall courageously sustain each other, in matters of religion, without prejudice to the obedience due to their legitimate superiors.

"We promise to maintain the Bible, whole and without admixture, according to the usage of the true apostolic church, persevering in this holy religion, though it be at peril of our life, in order that we may transmit it to our children, intact and pure, as we received it from our fathers.

"We promise aid and succour to our persecuted brothers, not regarding our individual interests, but the common cause, and not relying upon man, but upon God."

A hundred and thirty years later, the Vaudois, returning to their valleys whence they had been expelled by the combined arms of Louis XIV. and of Victor-Amadeus II., renewed, nearly on the same spot, on the hill of Sibaond, the same oath of alliance.

The pastors had scarce done speaking, when several of the people simultaneously exclaimed: "To-morrow they require from us an ignominious abjuration of our faith: well! let us, to-morrow, make a signal protestation against the persecuting idolatry that would impose that oath upon us."

The next morning, accordingly, before daybreak, instead of going to mass, they rushed, in arms, to the protestant church, which the catholics had already decked out with the frippery usual in their worship. Images, flambeaux, rosaries, were thrown into the street and trampled under foot. The minister, Humbert Artus, ascended the pulpit, and selecting for his text, the verse of Isaiah (xlv. 20): "Assemble yourselves and come; draw near together, ye that are escaped of the nations: they have no knowledge that set up the wood of their graven image, and pray unto a god that cannot save," pronounced a discourse that confirmed and encouraged the resolution of his auditory, who marched thence to purge the temple of Villaro also from the gross fetiches of Roman idolatry. On their way they met the garrison of Villaro, leisurely marching to make, as it thought, a facile prey of the Vaudois recusants. It assailed the reformers, who repelled it and drove it back to whence it came. The judges, the monks, the seigneurs, and the podesta, who had all complacently assembled to receive the abjuration of the heretics, had scarcely time to take

refuge with the fugitive soldiers in the menaced fortress. The Vandois laid siege to the place, posted sentinels and videttes, levied stores, and firmly awaited events.

The garrison of La Torre came next day to deliver the besieged ; but the Vandois met and routed them on the plain of Teynan ; they returned next day in greater numbers, and were again repulsed. Three bodies of troops presented themselves on the fourth day, and underwent the same fate. For ten days the Vandois occupied themselves in making powder, in digging mines, in forming casemates, and in other preparations for taking the citadel. The garrison, at length, reduced to extremities, without ammunition, without provisions, without water, surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared, and that in departing they should have the escort of two pastors, thus manifesting that they had more confidence in these persecuted ministers, than in any other protection. The terms were granted, the garrison marched out, and the fortifications of Villaro were forthwith destroyed by the conquerors.

This advantage gained by the protestants, suggested to the count de la Trinité the expediency of preventing union among them. He drew up his army between Luzerna and San Giovanni, and sent word to the inhabitants of Angrogna that they need fear nothing from him, if they would take no part in the affairs of the other valleys. But the people, rendered cautious by the treachery of which they so often had been made the victims, made no other reply, than the preparing more actively than ever for the common defence.

They threw up entrenchments, they established posts and signals ; every house became a manufactory of pikes, bullets, and other weapons ; the best marksmen were formed into a body, called the *Flying Company*, it being their part to hasten wherever danger most menaced. They were always to be accompanied by two pastors, to prevent alike excesses, unnecessary effusion of blood, and the relaxing in religious exercises. Each morning and evening, and before every engagement, these ministers offered up prayers in the encampment.

The advanced post of the Vandois, that of Sonnailllette, was attacked on the 4th of February, 1561, and the combat lasted till night. Three days after, the popish army marched upon Angrogna in several separate corps, which united on a steep and rocky ascent called Le Coste. But the Vandois, who occupied



ENTRANCE INTO LA TORRE.

the heights, rolled down huge rocks on their ranks, and dispersed them.

The severest struggle, however, that had yet occurred, took place on the 24th of February. The count had brought to bear all his forces, and all the resources of his strategy, the object being to surprise Pra-del-Tor, where the entire population of Angrogna had assembled, and where they had constructed mills, ovens, houses, and all the appurtenances to a fortified post. This citadel of the Alps was protected, not only by rocks, but also by heroic fighting-men. An attempt had been made to reach it by Tagliaretto, but this access was defended by the conquerors of Villaro. Two bodies of troops were accordingly directed against it from other quarters. The one, commanded by Charles Truchet and Louis de Monteil, advancing by the valley of San Martino, the other, under George Costa, by that of Pramolo. These two bodies were to attack Pra-del-Tor, the one by the Col du Laouzoun, the other by the Col de la Vachera. On the morning they were to act, a third body appeared at the extremity of the valley of Angrogna, burning and pillaging, in order to draw the defenders from the principal post. But the manoeuvre did not succeed. The troop coming by La Vachera advanced first; the Vaudois assailed and dispersed it. The second troop was then discovered, slowly descending the mountain side. It was allowed to involve itself in the ravines, and the guides had reached an opening whence they could look down into the valley, and had cried out, "Haste! haste! Angrogna is ours!" before the Vaudois, rushing upon them from the rocks, and exclaiming, "It is you who are ours," attacked them with energy. The enemy, confiding in their numbers, turned upon this small force, but now came up the Vaudois who had defeated the first comers, and who assailed the enemy on their left. The latter still resisted; but suddenly the Flying Company appeared on the right; and the catholics, assailed on three sides, turned and retreated, as best they might, up the arduous ascent. Charles Truchet was prostrated by a stone, and his head was cut off with his own sword: and Louis de Monteil, after he had attained the other side of the mountain, was overtaken and slain. All their soldiers would have been slain with them, had it not been for the pastors of the Flying Company, who hastened to the field of battle to save, and to dismiss those who could no longer save themselves. This victory supplied the

Vaudois with store of much-needed arms and armour, taken from the enemy.

To avenge his defeat, the count de la Trinité burned the village of Rora, whose inhabitants, after a long and vigorous resistance, retired, over the mountain snows, to Villaro.

It was the next occupation of the Vaudois to construct, with trees, stakes, great stones, and snow, barricades at the narrowest points of the valley. These were scarcely completed, when the count de la Trinité advanced, having divided his army into three corps, two of which, infantry, were to march along the two heights of the valley, while the third, cavalry, followed its centre. A company of pioneers was in front, to level the barricades. The Vaudois, on their part, advanced on the left bank of the Pelice, till they came opposite Chiabrol, and fired on the cavalry as soon as it appeared; then, retreating from tree to tree, and from rock to rock, they continued to harass it, until they came to the first barricade, above Villaro. Here they halted, and swelled the ranks of the Flying Company, who defended this post. Much of the day was spent in skirmishes, at and about the barricade, upon which the enemy made no impression. Meanwhile, the infantry, who had advanced along the heights, passed, towards evening, beyond the line thus heroically defended. It became, therefore, necessary for the Vaudois to separate, in order that a portion of their body might repulse these new-comers. The first of these who appeared had already crossed the torrent Respart, and were ascending the vine-covered hills which overlook Villaro, when the Vaudois, who had hastened up the opposite ascent, met them, assailed them, and, after a long struggle, compelled them to retreat upon La Torre, with considerable loss.

In the following week, the Vaudois occupying the heights, the count attacked the hamlet of Boudrina or Des Huchoires, with a body of 2000 men, and for a while this large force seemed triumphant; but the Flying Company came up, with the men of Angrogna, and turned the fortune of the day, so that the enemy were routed, and driven back once more to La Torre. The count de la Trinité then retired to Luzerna, and thenceforth left both Villaro and Bobbio unmolested.

But there remained Angrogna, the central position of the valleys, approachable on all sides except from the west; and having collected a new army of not fewer than 7000 men, the

count resolved to vindicate his military honour by the taking of Angrogna.

On Sunday, 17th March, 1561, the Vaudois families, assembled with their defenders at Pra-del-Tor for the worship of God, saw, as they quitted the church, three long trains of soldiers advancing in parallel lines—the one along the heights of La Vachera, the other by the road from Foreste, and the third by that from Serre.

The approaches to Pra-del-Tor, to which the two first lines of attack were advancing, were defended by a bastion of earth and rock-work, which the Vaudois had taken the precaution to construct, but the lower path had not been barricaded, though it might have been far more easily so closed than any other access, by reason of the narrowness of its path. Indeed, the natural difficulties of the approach, which the Vaudois had considered a sufficient impediment, were so great, that the enemy's column which used it was the last to arrive in sight of Pra-del-Tor. Upon perceiving it, the Vaudois descended to attack them, leaving at the bastion above only a few defenders; but these were armed with long pikes, with which each assailant, as he appeared on the escarpment, was forthwith thrust down the precipice. After a long struggle, however, which cost the lives of two of their number, this little band was about to give way, when the Flying Company, having routed the assailants below, dashed up to the bastion, whose garrison, thus reinforced, at once assumed the offensive. The enemy, furiously attacked, turned and fled. The captain of the band, Sebastian di Virgile, was slain; and the number of the soldiers killed was so great, that the count de la Trinité actually sat down and wept when he beheld the heaps of bodies. At the other bastion, the Vaudois were equally successful: they had awaited in firm silence the approach of the enemy, till they came within gunshot, and then, with a general discharge, took the catholics by surprise; at a second discharge, the enemy gave way. The Vaudois rushed forth, attacked and decimated the enemy, and dispersed the survivors. As the captain of the battalion afterwards stated, the catholic troopers seemed panic-struck in the presence of these raw mountaineers, and there ran among them this cry—"God must be with these men!" It was matter of no small astonishment with the catholics generally at this time, that the Vaudois, thus triumphant, and familiar with the locality, had not followed

up their victory by pursuing the enemy and completely annihilating them, as they might readily have done; but the chiefs, as Gilly observes, and especially the ministers, would not permit this, having resolved, at the outset, that while, under necessity, they would do their best to defend themselves by force of arms, they would never transgress the limits of absolute self-defence, alike out of respect for their superiors, and out of a desire to spare human blood, using every victory granted them by the God of battles with the utmost possible moderation.

The catholic chiefs attributed these repeated defeats of their troops to the circumstance that they had not been accustomed to warfare in the mountains, asserting that, could they encounter the Vaudois on the plain, they would scatter them like chaff. It so happened that in a few days afterwards an encounter did take place on the plain; but it was the catholics who were scattered like chaff—not the Vaudois. Victory, as Gilly remarks on the occasion, depends not on the greater or smaller number of men, not on the greater or smaller space of battle-field, not on the higher or lower elevation of the ground, but wholly on the merciful aid of the Lord, who, when it so pleases his wisdom, gives the will and the power to triumph to those who support a just cause.

After these numerous engagements, in which the Vaudois only lost fourteen men, the count de la Trinité sent persons to open negotiations with them; but while the parley was proceeding, and the attention of the Vaudois thus lulled, he assembled his troops, and marched them, in the night of 16th April, against the two strongest points in their country—Pra-del-Tor and Tagliaretto. Tagliaretto, assailed first, was occupied at day-break by a number of attacking parties, who threw themselves simultaneously upon all the scattered hamlets which constitute the district. The inhabitants, surprised in their sleep, were some slain and some taken prisoners; and the rest, escaping in their night attire, owed their lives to their agility, and to their knowledge of the mountain paths. The assailants, after plundering the abandoned cottages, descended by Costa-Rossina to the slopes overhanging Pra-del-Tor, to co-operate with the other troops in the projected extermination of the Vaudois.

Now the first proceeding of these, with the opening of each day, was to offer up a prayer to God in common. It was day-break, and they had just terminated this religious exercise, when the

first rays of the sun lit up, on the mountain tops, the helmets and cuirasses of the advancing enemy. Six resolute mountaineers, dashing up the ascent, posted themselves in a defile where only two persons could march abreast; and here they kept in effectual check the long file of foes who were accumulating behind this obstacle. As each two of the enemy turned the rock, they were shot down by the two foremost Vaudois; the two next were shot in like manner by the two next Vaudois, firing over their comrades' shoulders: the two last Vaudois loaded the weapons as they were discharged. Thus, for a quarter of an hour, the passage was closed. Meantime, other Vaudois ascended to the rocks which, higher up, overlooked the defile in which the enemy's forces were collecting. All at once, upon this armed mass, there rained angular rocks, which crushed whole ranks in their fall, and then, bursting into splinters, rebounded from the bodies like grape-shot, and prostrated fresh victims. Unable to advance, or to deploy, or even to fight, the unfortunate troops retrograded in disorder, and but a portion escaped. The other corps, who had advanced by La Vachera to aid in the attack on Pra-del-Tor, finding their comrades already defeated, joined the survivors in their flight.

The Vaudois, doubly indignant at being thus basely assailed pending the armistice which they had generously accepted, furiously pursued the fugitives, and harassed them with stones and bullets, up to the plateau of Campo-la-Rama, near La Torre. Here the catholics, facing about, hastily formed in battle array, hoping to surround the Vaudois, with the aid of fresh troops from La Torre; but the protestants, giving them no time, either to form or to receive succours, dashed upon them, slew, among the first victims, their leader, Cornelio, and drove them, discomfited and in utter disorder, up to the very gates of La Torre. The same evening, the count de la Trinité raised his camp, and retreated to Cavour. It was announced that he was gone to fetch cannon. "Let him bring them," cried the Vaudois; "he'll not take them back with him." But he came not; and the victors, returning to Pra-del-Tor, covered it, towards La Vachera, with a bastion so large, that it was visible at Luzerna, three leagues off.

At this period there arrived in the valleys a new legion of defenders. The Vaudois of Provence, who had escaped from the massacres of 1545, doubly inured to warfare by their misfortunes

and by the savage life they had led on the rude slopes of Leberon, issued from their retreats, on hearing that their brethren of the Vaudois valleys were undergoing persecution ; and either because the climate of Provence had generated in them more violent passions, or that the monstrous cruelties of Menier d'Oppede had infuriated them against all catholics, these auxiliaries were far from imitating the moderation of the Vaudois with regard to the papists. Animated with a spirit of vengeance, explained, though not excused, by the terrible sufferings they had endured, they scourged the country about the valleys, ravaged the possessions of the catholics, rendered carnage for carnage, and diffused that insurmountable terror which is created by the fury of despair. The surrounding population, victims at once of the hostile army and of the devastating incursions of these implacable avengers, loudly demanded that this war, so disastrous for all parties, should be concluded. On the other hand, desertion manifested itself in the papist army ; the soldiers would not fight against such adversaries, nor even march towards those formidable mountains, where, as they said, the death of one Vaudois cost the lives of more than a hundred catholics. At last, the count de la Trinité fell ill, while the Vaudois, so far from becoming weaker, had defenders more resolute, more powerful, more numerous than ever.

It was considered, therefore, expedient to make terms with them. The first overtures offered merely peace, and this on condition that the Vaudois would send away their pastors, and ransom their brethren who were prisoners. These conditions were at once rejected. The count de Racconis then (5th of May) wrote to the Vaudois, inviting them to send delegates to Cavour, to arrange with him the basis of a definitive arrangement. The delegates were sent, and on the 5th of June, 1561, a decree was issued, of which the following translation will show how moderate were the demands of the Vaudois.

“ In the name of God,

“ His highness issues out these his letters patent, by which it will appear, in what manner his highness grants an indemnity to the people of the valleys of Angrogna, Bobbio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, Rora, Tagliaretto, La Rua di Boneti, La Torre, San Martino, Perosa, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartolomeo, and every one of these, as also to all such as shall be found to have assisted

them, for all offences by them committed, whether they be damages, deaths, or fines; as well in particular as in general, either against his highness, their immediate lords, or other particular persons within his highness' dominions, restoring them to his favour as if they had never done anything against his highness; and receiving them under his gracious protection.

"1. It shall be permitted to those of Angrogna, Bobbio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, and Rora, being districts of the valley of Luzerna, and likewise to those of Parlibece, Roderet, Masel, Maneglia, and Salea, districts of the valley of San Martino, to have preaching assemblies, and other ministerial offices, according to their religion, in their wonted places.

"2. It shall be permitted them to have the same at Villaro, which is a district of the valley of Luzerna; and this shall be until such time as his highness shall make a fort in the said place; for after that such a fort is erected, it shall not be permitted to the people of the said place to have preaching, or congregations, within the bounds of the said place: but it shall be lawful for them to erect a place convenient for such like services, in some adjacent place towards Bobbio, as they shall find most convenient. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to the ministers to come within the said bounds, to visit the sick, and perform other necessary duties of their religion, provided that they neither preach, nor gather together any suspected congregation. At Tagliaretto and Rua di Boneti, which are the confines of their lands, it shall be permitted them to have preaching, and congregations in the wonted places; provided that they do not enter into the other confines of their lands, to do the same.

"3. It shall not be permitted to the inhabitants of the above-mentioned districts of the valleys of Luzerna and San Martino above said, to come within the other bounds of the said valleys, or the rest of his highness' dominions, passing the bounds of their prescribed limits there, to have preaching congregations, or disputations, but only to do this within their own bounds. And if by chance they shall be questioned touching their faith, it shall be lawful for them to make answer, without incurring thereby any punishment, either real or personal.

"4. It shall be permitted to those of the parish which is on the other side of Perosa, who are at present fugitives for the sake of the said religion, to have preaching, and congregations, and other ministerial offices, according to their said religion, only in

the place nominated, and not in any other place within the bounds of the said parish.

"5. It shall be permitted to those of the parish of Pinachia, in the valley of Perosa, and to those of Roccapiatta, who are at present fugitives for the cause of their said religion, and do adhere to it, to have one minister only, who shall have liberty one day to administer and preach in the place of San Germano, called Adurmiglioso, and the other day at Roccapiatta, in the place called Goadini, and not in any part of the said parishes.

"6. It shall be permitted to all persons of the said valleys, who are at present fugitives, and do adhere to their said religion (notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made against their religion before this war), to return and live in their houses with their families, according to their religion; and to go, and return, from the sermons and congregations which shall be made in the said places, and other services of their religion; provided that they observe what they engage to observe. And forasmuch as many of the above-said will be found in the lands of the said valleys, at a great distance from such places, and will thereby necessarily stand in need of visitations, and other ministerial functions, according to their religion; it shall be permitted to their ministers, (such as dwell within their limits, without any prejudice to such limits,) to visit and perform their ministerial duties, according as they shall have occasion; only they shall not have public preaching, or such as may afford the least suspicion.

"7. To all the inhabitants of the said valleys above mentioned, and to all the fore-named fugitives, and those who persist in their religion, as well those of the territories of the said valleys, as those of Roccapiatta, S. Bartolomeo, and Miana, their goods that have been confiscated shall be restored to them; provided they be not confiscated for any other cause than that of religion, and the present or past war.

"8. It shall be permitted to all the fore-named, to recover, by course of law, their moveables and their cattle, whereof they have been robbed, and which shall be found to have been sold by their neighbours, provided they be not soldiers; and the same is permitted to their neighbours against the above mentioned.

"9. All the freedom, immunities, and privileges, (as well general as particular,) which have been granted either by his

highness' most illustrious predecessors, his highness himself, or other immediate lords, shall be confirmed to the afore-named; provided they prove the truth thereof, by authentic acts and instruments.

"10. Those of the said valleys shall be obliged to write down the names and surnames of all such as belong to the territories of the afore-said valleys, who have fled on account of the persecution of their religion, as well such as have abjured as others who have remained with their goods and families, that so they may enjoy the favour and benefits that their prince and lord shall be pleased to bestow upon them.

"11. Because it is lawful for a prince, in his own country, to cause forts to be made, according to his pleasure, without being controlled or opposed by any of his vassals, or subjects, to remove any cause of suspicion which might be entertained in the minds of the afore-named of the said valleys, it is declared, That from this time forward, within some few days, his highness may peradventure cause a fort to be made in the commune of Villaro; nevertheless it shall be without any cost of those of the valley, except in what it shall seem good to them to contribute lovingly to their prince: which being done, by God's permission, it shall be provided with a governor, and a captain, who shall attend only for the service of his highness: nevertheless, this shall be without the least prejudice to any man's conscience, or his goods.

"12. It shall be lawful for the afore-named, before those ministers be dismissed (whom it shall please his highness to order to be sent away) to have others in their places; provided they do not retain Signor Martino, of Pragela; nor may they change or shift their abodes from one place to another of the said valleys, otherwise than it shall be permitted to them.

"13. In the parishes of the said valleys, where preaching is held, and congregations are instituted, or the ministries of the said valley exercised, mass shall be celebrated, and other offices, according to the custom of the Roman church; but the afore-named shall not be constrained to go thereunto, or to give any help or assistance to any that officiate in that service; and if any shall be pleased to go thither, no disturbance shall be given him by the afore-named.

"14. His highness shall make a free gift and irrevocable remission of all the expenses which he hath been at in this war, and of the 8000 crowns which the afore-named did owe unto his

highness, upon account of the 16,000 crowns agreed to be paid in the former war.

"15. All the prisoners who may be found in the soldiers' hands, shall be restored and set at liberty, provided they pay a reasonable ransom, according to their means, leaving the judgment and ransom to the discretion of the lord de Raconisi, and to the lord della Trinita: and all those whom the said lords shall judge to be no lawful prisoners shall be released without any ransom; who shall also cause to be released, without any payment, all those of the said valleys who shall be found in the galleys for cause of their religion, and not for any other offence.

"16. Finally, his highness shall permit all the aforesaid of the said valleys, and the aforesaid of Miana, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartolomeo, of what state and condition soever they be, (provided they be not ministers) to be included in the common society and intercourse with his other subjects, to stay, go, and come, in all places and countries of his highness' territories; and likewise to buy, sell, and traffic in all sorts of merchandizes, provided they refrain from preaching, from drawing together assemblies, and from disputation, as is above said; and those that are in the limits, who have not a settled residence without their own limits, nor any within the territory of the said valleys, without their own territory, and the confines thereof, and those of Miana, Roccapiatta, S. Bartolomeo, shall not encroach beyond their own confines: and these things being punctually observed on their parts, no disturbance or molestation, whether real or personal, shall be offered unto them, but they shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his highness.

"17. Moreover, orders shall be issued out by his highness, wherein there shall be sufficient provisions made against all disturbances, inconveniences, or plots of malignant spirits, to the end that the above-named may peaceably and quietly enjoy their own religion.

"18. For the observance of all the conditions, and that no inconvenience may arise about the performance and execution of the above-written articles, Georgio Monastieri, of Angrogna, sent by the said valleys, and syndie of S. Constance, and of Ateszani; and Rambaudo, syndie of Bobbio; Michele Ramondetti, sent by the commonalty of Tagliaretto, and Rua di Boneti to La Torre; Giovanni Mala-notte, sent particularly by those of S. Giovanni; Pietro Pasquale, sent by the commonalty of the valley of S. Mar-

tino; Thomasso Romano, of S. Germano, sent by the said commonalty, and by the whole valley of Perosa, do promise for their commonalties respectively, that the contents of the above-said articles shall be inviolably observed; and in case of non-observance, they do submit to such punishment as it shall please his highness to inflict on them; promising in like manner, to cause this their engagement to be approved and confirmed (*per capita domorum*) by the heads of families.

"The most illustrious lord of Raconisi doth promise that his highness shall ratify and approve the above-written articles to the under-written, in particular, and in general, granted by the intercession of her most serene highness, Madame, as a pure act of her special grace: in witness whereof, the aforesaid lord hath subscribed these presents with his own hand; and the ministers, in the name of all the aforesaid commonalties, have underwritten their names *in quor. fld.* this 5th of June, 1561.

"PHILLIPPO DI SAVOYA.

(Signed)

FRANCISCO VALLE, Minister of Villaro in Luzerna.

CLAUDIUS BERGIO, Minister of Tagliaretto.

GEORGIO MONASTIERI, of Angrogna.

MICHELE RAMONDETTI, of Tagliaretto."

The pope, the nuncio, the catholic clergy, raised a vehement outcry against this convention, and did their utmost to frustrate it; but the cause of truth prevailed, and the convention of the 5th of June afforded a solid basis to the Vaudois for the ulterior defence of their liberty of conscience, which, though it underwent thereafter many rude assaults, triumphed over them all, for all the persecuted ones placed their trust in Him who said "Call upon me in the day of trouble. I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."



THE CHURCH AT BOBBIO.

CHAPTER XVI.

CASTROCARO, GOVERNOR OF THE VALLEYS.

1561 — 1581.

AFTER so protracted an interruption of agricultural labours, after such multiplied pillagings, and burnings, and losses of every description, undergone by the Vaudois, there was utter poverty throughout their valleys. The confiscated lands, houses, &c., had been stripped of every moveable appurtenance, before they were restored; and many were not restored at all. The monks of Pinerolo continued their depredations upon the surrounding protestants; and, from time to time, Vaudois escaped from the massacres in Calabria made their way, hungry, naked, and utterly destitute, to the valleys, and became an additional burden upon the impoverished mountaineers, ever prompt to share with their brethren the little that remained to themselves. Their

distress became known, and collections were made for them in Switzerland, in Germany, and even in France.

They were just recovering from their depression, when Castrocara, a man who had been their prisoner, and whom they had generously released, professing to the duchess of Savoy, their protector, the most friendly intentions towards them, obtained the appointment of governor of the valleys. But, treacherous both towards his benefactress and towards his benefactors, he was faithful only to the archbishop of Turin, to whom he had promised that he would gradually withdraw from the Vaudois all the liberties which had been granted to them, and do his utmost for the complete annihilation of their church. His mode of effecting this object was by successive restrictions ; and first, in 1565, he demanded a revision of the treaty of Cavour, concluded in 1561.

The Vaudois rejected the proposition. He then pretended that they had transgressed it. The Vaudois applied to the duke to maintain its provisions. Castrocara proceeded to Turin, and returned with new conditions, which he laid before the Vaudois for their signature. But these conditions were not signed by the duke, and the Vaudois refused to subscribe them. Castrocara menaced them with a war more cruel than the preceding. A conference was established at which some concessions were extorted from the representatives of the Vaudois ; the Vaudois disavowed their representatives. The parties were growing embroiled, and this was precisely what the popish governor desired.

He had a body of troops placed under his command, on pretence of maintaining order, and established himself with this garrison in the castle of La Torre. He thence issued orders to the people of Bobbio to dismiss their pastor, Humbert Artus ; and to those of San Giovanni, no longer to admit the protestants of the plain to their religious meetings.

The Vaudois, by the medium of the duchess, obtained the abrogation of these orders ; but Castrocara, nevertheless, on the 10th of September, 1565, issued a proclamation in the valley of Luzerna that all who did not conform should be put to the edge of the sword ; and at the same time wrote word to the duke that the Vaudois were in open rebellion against his authority ; whereupon the duke, indignant, ordered the people to obey their governor. The latter forthwith persecuted the faithful under all

sorts of pretexts ; he removed the learned Scipio Lentulus, pastor of San Giovanni, on the pretext of his being a foreigner ; he arrested Gilles des Gilles, pastor of La Torre, on the pretext, utterly futile, that he had been to Grenoble and Geneva to invite foreign troops against his sovereign. This was the pastor who, in the late war, had, by his energetic interposition, saved the life of Castrocaro, as well as those of a multitude of catholic soldiers. This vital service, which would have inflamed noble minds with eternal gratitude, engendered absolute hatred towards his benefactor in the base soul of Castrocaro, who having, in February, 1566, seized his liberator, threw him into prison, treated him there, as his grandson relates, "worse than the worst brigand," and had well-nigh effected his death by burning, when the excellent pastor was released on the mediation of the elector Palatine.

Castrocaro next published an edict commanding all protestants, not born within his jurisdiction, to quit it, under penalty of death and confiscation ; but the duchess of Savoy procured the abrogation of this barbarous order. The perfidious governor then essayed to interdict the Vaudois from assembling in synod ; but he failed. "At all events," he declared, "he would be present at these synods, in order to prevent plots against the safety of the state ;" but the Vaudois protested against this innovation, fearing, not his presence, but the precedent.

In the following year, the wars of religion were rekindled in France ; the duke of Cleves, marching at the head of an army of Spaniards against Flanders, was to traverse Piedmont, and his first exploit, it was announced, was to be the extermination of the Vaudois. The fanatics rejoiced, the christians mourned, anxiety once more spread through the valleys, and a solemn fast was observed there towards the end of May, to avert the menaced visitation. It was averted ; the storm passed on one side, and while all the rest of Europe was in combustion, the Vaudois enjoyed, for a few years, comparative peace.

Castrocaro availed himself of this respite, to construct, or rather to complete, the fort of Miraboco, an erection especially obnoxious to the people of Bobbio, by reason of the obstacle it established on the road to Queyras, the free passage of which created some resources for their *colayers*, or hawkers, who, by that route, conveyed their produce, for sale or exchange, to Upper Dauphiny. Castrocaro, however, had a special hostility to

the people of Bobbio; and his next step was to require from them the surrender, into the hands of the papist pastor of La Torre, of the protestant church of Bobbio, and the land appropriated to the support of its minister. The Vaudois refused, and were, thereupon condemned by Castrocaro to pay a fine of 100 gold crowns, within twenty-four hours, and a further penalty of twenty-five gold crowns for every day that the 100 crowns should remain unpaid. Upon an appeal to Emanuel-Philibert, this demand was withdrawn, but the Vaudois, seeing the system of persecution once more in such active operation, deemed it necessary to renew among themselves that oath of alliance and christian combination which had been instrumental to their late triumphs; and they accordingly, on the 11th of November, 1571, signed, by their representatives at Bobbio, the following convention:—

“When any one of our churches shall be impeached, individually, all the rest, combined, shall reply, as with one mouth, in assertion of the common rights. No one of us shall adopt any determination, in such a matter, without consulting his brethren. All of us solemnly promise and swear to adhere perseveringly in the ancient union transmitted to us by our fathers, never to abandon our holy religion, and to remain faithful to our lawful sovereigns.”

Amid the vexations which now harassed the Vaudois, especially those of Lower Piedmont, there is a circumstance of a very singular nature to be noted: Charles IX. actually wrote a letter of the most pressing nature to the duke of Savoy, in favour of the persecuted. “I have a request to make,” wrote he, “of no ordinary kind, but as earnest a one as I could possibly put to you, and it is this: that having, under the influence of passions excited by war-troubles, treated your subjects with extreme harshness, you would, for love of me, and at my prayer and special recommendation, receive them into your good grace, and re-establish them in their confiscated properties.” This letter, written at Blois, bears date, 28th September, 1571, Charles IX. being then twenty-one years old.

“Charles IX.,” say the Benedictine authors of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, “had received from nature an excellent disposition and rare talents; he was brave to intrepidity, endowed with marvellous penetration, vivid conception, sure judgment, and expressed himself with a noble facility. But the seductions by

which he was surrounded perverted this favourable disposition : the queen-mother herself formed him in the arts of feigning and dissimulation; the marshal de Retz taught him to laugh at oaths; and the Guise, by their sanguinary counsels, converted the natural impetuosity of his character into cruelty." And there is no doubt that, under other circumstances, he would have been one of the most accomplished and excellent princes in the annals of French royalty. But ill example and sinister counsels produced their wonted result; on the 23rd of August, 1572, within a year after the transmission of this letter, took place the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Upon the occurrence of that monstrous event, the hopes which the reformed churches had conceived were succeeded by the most agonizing apprehensions. Castrocaro, among the foremost persecutors, alarmed the Vaudois valleys with his menaces of extermination. "Sixty thousand Huguenots have perished in France," he exclaimed, with malignant vehemence, "and do you, miserable handful of heretics, think you are to escape!" The papist population already congratulated each other on the approaching abolition of the Vaudois. The latter began to prepare for the worst; the women and children, conveying the household goods, sought the securest caverns of the upper mountains; the men, remaining behind, prepared their weapons, and, until compelled to make use of them, continued to watch and pray.

But the cry of horror which resounded throughout civilized Europe at the enormous assassination of August, 1572, had its effect upon the duke of Savoy, whose heart was touched, whose intelligence was confounded, at so monstrous an atrocity. He protested energetically against the cruelties which had been perpetrated, vowed that no similar crime should ever sully his life, and, assuring the Vaudois that they were in no danger, induced them to return once more to their dwellings.

A relation of the troubles which, at this epoch, befel the Val Perosa will more fitly be introduced later, in connexion with the history of the Val di Pragela; but there is one episode which may find its place here, as coming within the general movement of the districts under consideration.

Amid the almost universal fury now prevalent against the protestants, the pastor of San Germano, named Francis Guerin, did not hesitate to go forth, himself, alone, to combat catholicism with that bloodless but most potent weapon—reasoning. One

day, in 1573, he proceeded to Pramol, where papism was rampant. It was Sunday, the people were assembled in church, and the curé was celebrating mass. Francis Guerin mingled with the auditory, and waited, in silence, until the service was terminated. No one suspected that, amid the crowd, there was a knight of Christ, who, armed with the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, was about to make that word triumph, by the power of love and of courage, over the servile forces of superstition.

The curé having concluded his service, the pastor rose, and asked him whether he had finished. "Yes," replied the curé. "What have you been doing?"—"I have been celebrating mass." "What is the mass?" asked the pastor, in Latin. There was no answer. "What is the mass?" asked the pastor, in Italian; but the poor curate could not answer. Thereupon, relates the Capuchin, Fra Agostino, in a contemporary manuscript, the protestant minister mounted the pulpit, and began to preach against the mass and against the pope, and, among other things, said: "O poor folk! See what you have here—a man who knoweth not what that is he doeth. Every day he says mass, yet he knows not what mass is; every day he does that which neither he understands, nor you, whom he calls about him. But behold here the Bible, and hear the words of God;" "and thereupon," adds the Capuchin, "with his gimcracks, he perverted the whole district, so that now there is neither curé nor mass to be found there." For five years, Francis Guerin acted as pastor of the district thus gained over to the gospel; he then, at the head of the Vaudois militia, penetrated into the marquisate of Saluzzo, then an object of contention between Savoy and France, and, after the respective armies had withdrawn, remained to consolidate there the evangelical churches. At length, the Vaudois were relieved from the oppressions of Castrocaro. Emanuel-Philibert having died in 1580, Castrocaro announced that his successor was about to march an army for the extermination of the Vaudois. The latter having, hereupon, retired to the mountains, the treacherous governor sent word to the duke that the Vaudois were preparing to resist his authority, and solicited permission to take rigorous measures against them. A commissioner, however, being sent to investigate the matter on the spot, soon satisfied himself, at once of the innocence of the Vaudois and of the odious vexations practised on them by their calumniators. He found that Castrocaro,

himself living in pampered luxury in the castle of La Torre, where "he had grown fat and rich," permitted, and not unfrequently ordered, his soldiers to perpetrate every description of excess upon the people around. He had in his palace a breed of ferocious bloodhounds, of unusual size and strength. His son, Andrew, was so profligate a debauchee that no modest woman could quit her house unless with an escort. His three daughters went indifferently to mass and to the protestant church, having no sense of religion whatever, but merely eager to display the frippery in which they delighted. The duke of Savoy, upon being made acquainted with the facts, ordered Castrocara to appear before him at Turin; but, under various pretexts, the governor withheld obedience to the mandate. His highness thus finding that rebellion at La Torre was not on the part of the Vaudois, but on the part of their oppressor, ordered the count of Luzerna to arrest Castrocara. This, however, was no easy matter, by reason of the fortifications, the desperado soldiers, and the ferocious dogs, who guarded the governor. Treachery, however, aptly did its work upon the treacherous. A captain of the garrison, one Simon, came to an understanding with the count of Luzerna, and by his means Castrocara was seized in bed, on the 15th of June, 1582, and taken to Turin, where he died in prison. His son also expiated his excesses in a dungeon; the three daughters, with the mother, were left to subsist in obscurity upon a small pension reserved to them out of the father's ill-acquired gains, the residue of which was confiscated to the state.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONDITION OF THE VAUDOIS DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES-EMANUEL.—THE BANDITTI.

1580 — 1680.

IN 1585, Charles-Emanuel, who had acceded to the throne of Savoy in 1580, married the daughter of Philip II. of Spain; and the latter being one of the league against the protestants, it was assumed that his son-in-law would not delay to follow his example. Thereupon the monks and the Jesuits exalted their horns, and menaced the faithful with extermination, unless

they consented to a prompt conversion. The fear of the faithful became great, not so much by reason of the immediate vaunts and menaces of the monks, but by reason of the great papist league which they knew was forming throughout Europe; and they saw that they must prepare, if not to avert, at least to meet calamity, by more than ordinary recurrence to Almighty God.

A solemn fast of four days was accordingly observed in the Vaudois valleys, on the 15th and 16th, and on the 22nd and 23rd of May, 1585, according to the usage of the primitive church in similar emergencies; and as if to show that the blessing and the force of God are ever granted to the fervent prayer of man, the Vaudois speedily learned that throughout Dauphiny the reformers had defeated the soldiers of the league; and as one-third of the Vaudois valleys appertained to that province, the advantages obtained by these greatly contributed to strengthen the position of all.

In 1595, Charles-Emanuel, on his return from recovering the fort of Miraboco, which had been taken by the French, halted in the market-place at Villaro, and said to the Vaudois who had assembled to congratulate him on his victory: "Be good subjects to me, and I will be a good prince to you—a good father. With regard to your freedom of conscience, and the exercise of your religion, I will make no innovation upon the liberties you have enjoyed hitherto; and if any one molests you therein, come to me, and I will see to it."

The catholic clergy, irritated at this gracious intimation, and unable to effect anything, by violence, against the Vaudois church, attacked it by indirect means. First, it obtained permission to establish, in all the valleys, catholic missionaries, who were to be entitled to enter the protestant churches whenever they thought fit; and, pursuant to this permission, the archbishop of Turin himself installed a body of Jesuits in the valley of Luzerna, and one of Capuchins in that of San Martino. Several conferences were held between the Jesuits and the pastors, but without the least result. Indeed, there was no one by whom the result of such discussions could be decided. The conference at Appiasco, for example, was presided over by the count of Luzerna: at the close of the discussion, the pastor having replied to the Jesuit, requested the president to decide with whom the advantages of argument rested. "Gentlemen," replied the count, "if you had disputed the qualities of a good horse or a good

sword, I could give you my opinion, for I know something about both matters ; but as to your controversy, I make neither head nor tail of it." On the 2nd of August, 1598, there was a special conference between the pastor of San Germano and the Capuchin Berno. The arguments on both sides were printed, but the Inquisition prohibited their being sold ; the inference from which is, that, in the opinion of the holy office, the victory in argument was not on the side of catholicism. Defeated in discussion, the Jesuits had recourse to such acts of violence as were practicable, and imprisonment, fine, and torture effected a few venal conversions. In 1599, there came to La Torre a curé, very bold and blustering, and who seemed much fitter to create disturbances than to conduct a church. His name was Ubertino Braida. His first proceeding was to demand tithes, which the protestants had never paid ; his demand was rejected. He then proceeded to outrage the Vaudois with all sorts of insults, and, like another Goliath, offered to fight any one of them, hand to hand. But despite his assumption of extreme valour, he always wore a shirt of mail, under his cassock. One evening, some young men, after supper, went to the curé's house, resolved to test his courage, and made a disturbance. The curé ran out at the back door, and took to flight. The young men did not pursue him at all, contenting themselves with a laugh at the result of their experiment. The podesta of La Torre, stimulated by the friends of the fugitive, cited the young men before him, and sentenced them to remain prisoners for a few days, in the house of a gentleman, whom he named. The Vaudois repaired to the house ; but learning next day that a troop of archers had been despatched to seize them, take them to Turin, and cast them into the dungeons of the Inquisition, they took to flight during the night. Next day, they were again summoned to attend before the podesta ; and, not appearing, were condemned to banishment from the states of Savoy, under penalty of the galleys, if they were ever found within its limits.

The poor young men withdrew into the mountains, where, having provided themselves with arms, they wandered about from place to place, and lived upon the contributions, voluntary or enforced, of the population. Here these *banditti* (banished men) lived for some years, their numbers constantly increasing. Prohibition was proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, from affording them aid, food, or shelter ; but they became all the more formi-

dable, imposing black-mail not merely on individuals, but on whole towns. The podesta of La Torre marched against them with some troops, but he was so thoroughly defeated, that, ashamed to show his face again in La Torre, he abandoned his charge there, and retired to Luzerna.

In the commencement of February, 1602, the archbishop of Turin, the governor of Pinerolo, and the count Charles of Luzerna, came into the valleys, attended by a troop of Jesuits and Capuchins, and caused infinite disquietude to the protestants, who daily expected to see the Vaudois valleys become the theatre of some catastrophe. The catholics charged all the excesses committed by the banditti on the Vaudois as a body, and loudly demanded of the duke of Savoy to destroy, once for all, this focus of heresy and den of brigands. The Vaudois appointed special ministers to seek out, censure, and exhort the banditti; and a universal fast was observed throughout the valleys, on the 11th and 12th of August, to conciliate the divine pardon and mercy. The women and children once more sought their mountain retreats; the men once more, preparing their weapons, assiduously watched and prayed, knowing that the only secure defence is that of Our Lord.

Meanwhile the governor Ponte repaired to La Torre, whither he convoked the syndics of all the Vaudois communes, and ordered them to deliver up the banditti. Protesting earnestly their entire fidelity to the sovereign, the syndics replied by attributing the recent calamities to unjust proscriptions, and, admitting that some of these wretched outlaws had been guilty of excesses, pointed out the difficulty of separating the guilty from the innocent, and the injustice of punishing all alike, and concluded with an emphatic appeal for amnesty and peace. The governor rejected this proposition, and renewed the order that the banditti should be delivered up, dead or alive; but a few days afterwards, the governor was himself arrested and deprived of his office, on the charge of having maintained secret relations with the French generals.

Thereupon count Charles of Luzerna, who enjoyed great influence at court, offered to mediate in favour of the valleys with the duke, pursuant to a promise he had recently made to that effect, to the elector of Saxony, at Dresden.

On the 19th of November, 1602, Vignaux and Gilles, deputies, the one for the valley of Luzerna, the other for that of San

Martino, waited on the count in his palace at Luzerna. Every one was anxious to have the matter settled, for the force of the banditti had been lately augmented by a great number of protestants who had been driven from the marquisate of Saluzzo, and the plain of Piedmont. The result of the conference was the appointment of a Vaudois deputation to the duke, at Turin, the count promising the support of his utmost influence. The duke, however, while disposed to make some concessions, would not grant an amnesty, and the Vaudois would not accept the former without the latter. At length, after protracted negotiations, the duke issued, from Cunio, on the 9th of April, 1603, a decree, the following translation of which, together with the petition which led to it, will afford another striking illustration of the temperate course of the Vaudois :—

“ Most serene lord,

“ The most faithful subjects and servants of your most serene highness, who make profession of the reformed religion, according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, in the valleys of Luzerna, Perosa, and San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, Talluco, Miana, Matis, and the marquisate of Saluzzo, making up one body in Christ, declare and represent to your most serene highness, their natural and lawful prince, that being troubled, questioned, and molested, upon the account of their aforesaid religion, after they have frequently presented their petitions to your highness for securing them from such troubles, molestations, and inquisitions, without having obtained any relief, but rather experiencing from bad to worse, and seeing even an indication to execute the penalties contained in certain edicts, and considering that this would bring upon them a total and deplorable ruin; they therefore think it expedient to declare to you the extreme grief of heart which they are feeling, and to implore your bounty, that they may enjoy that gracious tranquillity which they have enjoyed, by the mercy of God, under the good pleasure of their good princes of happy memory, and of your most serene highness, which tranquillity your above-said petitioners desire may be established and made perpetual; and therefore they cast themselves once more, in all humility, at your highness' feet, beseeching you that you will vouchsafe to grant unto them the particulars under-written, to the end that they may live in quiet, and they will employ both their lives and estates for the service of your most serene highness.

"PETITIONS.

"First, that your highness would be pleased to abolish and declare null all restrictions whatsoever, upon the account of religion, together with all the proceedings and confiscations which have been made, and especially the illegal confiscation of the goods of Signora Beatrice Solara, and her children, (she having dwelt in the said valley of Luzerna now above thirty years, and her children being born in the said valley,) and that they may be all restored into a peaceable condition.

"Moreover, to grant them the free preaching and exercise of their religion in all the valleys of Luzerna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, Talluco, Mina, Matis, and the marquisate of Saluzzo, in the places accustomed, and usual, until this present time.

"Moreover, that all those of this religion of these valleys may return and abide in their houses, live in liberty of conscience, and use the exercise of their religion in the places accustomed.

"Moreover, that those of the said religion may exercise, and may be admitted to all kind of public offices in the above-said valleys, and that they may traffic through all the states of

"ANSWERS.

"His highness doth not intend that they should be molested for their pretended religion, so that they abstain from exercising it, out of the places of the valleys of Luzerna, San Martino, and Perosa.

"Provided they do it only in the limits tolerated in the said three valleys, they shall not be molested.

"As to the natives of the said three valleys, they may return, his highness suspending, as to them, the order which hath been made for those who have property without the limits designed.

"His highness, in what concerns the exercise of public offices, doth grant it in the said three valleys, and permits that they may go and make their harvest, and thresh their corn,

his most serene highness, and make their harvest, and thresh their corn, without molestation or inquisition, because of the said religion, as also that those who shall lodge and entertain them for assistants, may not be molested; and, in like manner, that those who dwell in the said valleys, shall have confirmed to them all the privileges and concessions usual until this present time.

“Moreover, to restore to liberty of conscience all those who have renounced their religion.

“Moreover, that none upon account of religion may be chased away, or prohibited to dwell in the valleys and places petitioned for, nor hindered from exercising public offices.

“Moreover, that poor Cupini, detained in Asti now above two years past, and only for the said religion, may be released.

“Moreover, his most serene highness is most humbly implored, that he will be pleased to grant, according to his wonted goodness and clemency, that those men who are honest may live quietly in the said valleys, and, for public quietness' sake, to grant pardon and favour to those who were described or named banditti, in the publication made in the valleys of that edict, published by the illustrious lord the chief justice, by order of his most

upon condition, notwithstanding, that they abstain from publishing their doctrine.

“It is not a thing which belongs to his highness to meddle with.

“Provision is made in the answer given to the third and fourth head.

“His highness will write about him to the bishop of Asti, that he may be set free.

“His highness, at the request of the count of Luzerna, knight of his own order, is pleased to pardon the banditti petitioned for. Except, notwithstanding, those that are written down and noted in the edict made last by the lieutenant of justice Bergera, &c. (*illegible*) detained now in Pinerolo, and of (*illegible*) of Angrogna, upon this condition, notwithstanding, namely, that they restore the churches, and repair the damages done to them. Provided, also, that

serene highness, and to all their coadjutors, abettors, counselors, and adherents, for the faults, excesses, and crimes by them said to be committed and perpetrated in the tumults hitherto, for matters of religion or otherwise, together with a prohibition of all real or personal molestation of them.

should the said outlaws return, or others who may hereafter be banished by justice, they do then take them prisoners, living or dead, and keep the said valleys clear from such heinous malefactors, under the penalty of making good all damages which shall be sustained from such persons, and of other punishment at pleasure.

"Given in Cunio, the 9th of April, 1603.

"PIETRO BRUNO, for the commonalty of Bubiana and Champiglone.

(Signed)

CHIABERTO BODETTI, for Villaro, Bobbio, and La Torre.
GIRARDO MALANO, for Angrogna."

CAROLO EMANUEL.
V. F. MILLET."

There still remained, however, the banditti belonging to Saluzzo, Fenile, Bubiana, Villafranca, and other districts of Piedmont. For the extirpation of these, the duke organized a body of special troops, who were to be maintained by the Vaudois, and whom he placed under the command of one captain Galline. This officer, however, under pretext of pursuing the outlaws, committed various outrages upon the persons and property of the peaceful inhabitants. One day in July, when the people of Bobbio were all engaged in the fields, he entered the village with his braves, killed a young man who, for some reason, had been unable to quit his home, drove out the pastor, and was about to pillage the place, when the villagers, having received an alarm, rushed home. Galline, finding himself surrounded by superior numbers, pusillanimously threw down the sword yet reeking with murder, and entreated for mercy. It was granted, and the Vaudois, taught to observe the great lesson of good for evil, even proffered to escort the band of marauders back to Luzerna, in order to save them from the indignation of the other hardy mountaineers, who, on hearing of Galline's outrage, were hastening down to aid their brethren. When the affair reached the ears of the duke, he sent the grand provost to Luzerna, to inquire

into the circumstances, and take measures accordingly. The provost announced to the other Vaudois communes that, whatever the result, they would not be affected, on the understanding that they should take no part with the people of Bobbio; but all without hesitation not only declared that they entirely took part with the people of Bobbio, but that henceforward they would not contribute, in any shape or degree, to the support of Galline and his men. The provost returned to Turin, having effected nothing. Count Charles of Luzerna then interposed, and the result of his mediation was an edict, dated 29th of September 1603, which, on the one hand, required the valleys to pay a fine of 1500 ducatoons, but, on the other, granted a general amnesty for the past, permitted all outlaws to return home without being liable to prosecution, authorized the Vaudois to retain any property they possessed beyond the limits of their valleys, and even to make open profession of their faith in presence of catholics, when desired so to do, (whereas hitherto they had been prohibited from avowing it,) and merely forbade them to defend it by polemical discussions, a prohibition manifestly recognizing its force. These concessions were especially favourable to a great many of the people of Saluzzo, who had taken refuge in the valleys, and who were thus permitted to abide there. Large collections made for them at about this time in France and Switzerland, enabled them to recover somewhat from the effect of the confiscations to which they had been subjected.

During the few years of tranquillity which the Vaudois now enjoyed, their numbers daily increased; and the church of Copiere was, in 1608, enlarged to its present dimensions. Towards the commencement of 1611, however, the court of Rome, which had succeeded in establishing fresh persecutions against the reformed churches of France, and had procured a regiment to be sent into the valley of Barcelonnette, for the conversion, in the manner of Rome, of the Vaudois in that locality, sought to effect the employment of similar means of conversion in the Vaudois valleys. In all great emergencies, the Vaudois have ever been accustomed, before and above all things, to recur to fasting and prayer, to penitence and supplication: in the present emergency, a public fast was ordered, 20th of January, 1611. On the morning of that day, a violent earthquake shook all the Vaudois mountains: it seemed an omen; for, eight days afterwards, the regiment of the baron de la Roche arrived, from Barcelonnette, in the valley

of Luzerna, and immediately proceeded to ravage the district, and put the men and cattle and goods they seized to arbitrary ransom, notwithstanding every effort was made to appease their insolence. The exactions and oppression of these troops continued for nearly a month; they were then removed to new cantonments, where, attempting to renew the excesses they had perpetrated in the valley of Luzerna, they were all slain by the peasants.

In 1613, a large portion of the Vaudois militia took part in the war of Montferrat, under the command of the count of Luzerna, and upon the special condition that they should be at full liberty to assemble every night and morning for the celebration of their own religious services, wherever they might be. Their conduct in this campaign obtained for them the grateful praises of their sovereign. In the following year, they were again levied, to take part in the war against Spain, and on this occasion marched in the direction of Vercelli, accompanied, as before, by their pastors. These expeditions gave them opportunities of destroying many prejudices which had been spread abroad against them, and of comforting and strengthening many secret friends of their doctrine who made themselves known to them in various places.

In 1620, various troubles befel the churches of Saluzzo and other districts contiguous to the Vaudois valleys. Deputies from the latter, who put themselves forward as mediators, were seized and imprisoned, and the sum of 6000 ducatoons was imposed, as the price of their release, and of the cessation of the vexations by which the protestants were persecuted. The 6000 ducatoons were, by the numerous exactions of the courts of justice, swollen to nearly 18,000: this heavy amount the valley of Luzerna advanced, in the expectation that, being a payment for the common interest, the other valleys (Perosa and San Martino) would afterwards contribute their proportion of it. When, however, the application for these quotas was made, the two valleys, under the influence of evil counsellors, refused to comply with it, disavowing all share in the arrangement. This disavowal was precisely what the popish plotters wanted. "If you have no share in the arrangement," said the magistrates, "you do not participate in its advantages, and you do not come within the amnesty. Let justice take its course." Justice—popish justice—did take its course. The richest inhabitants of Pinache, Clots, and Prali, were immediately arrested, under the pretext of their having

taken part in the late troubles, and made to pay for their release ransoms amounting to a much larger sum than the two valleys would have had to contribute as their share of the money paid by the valley of Luzerna for the tutelary edict which they had so imprudently disavowed. Nor was this all: the persecution of these two valleys still went on; and to effect their cessation, the inhabitants had to pay, in addition to the sums paid by individuals for individual ransom, a fine of 3000 ducatoons to the duke. Nor was this all: they were ordered to demolish six of their churches. This they absolutely refused to do, and thereupon seven regiments of infantry were sent to treat them in all respects as a conquered country; these troops demolished the churches, and ravaged the whole district in its length and breadth.

Various attempts were made, in like manner, between 1620 and 1624, to persecute the valley of Luzerna; but the privileges which this valley had so highly purchased were not wholly without effect in mitigating oppression. In 1625, the presence of Lesdiguières in Piedmont, whither he had been invited by the duke of Savoy to act against the Genoese, and who interposed in favour of his co-religionists, gave respite to the valleys. In 1626 and 1627, one father Buonaventura, a monk of great note among his own people, was employed as missionary among the Vaudois. When he prayed he was sometimes, his admirers said, raised from the ground by a mysterious force. Some took him for a saint; others for a sorcerer. During his progress, several boys of from ten to twelve years old disappeared; these, it was afterwards ascertained, had been carried off by *braves* in the employment of the worthy monk, and shut up, with a view to their *conversion*, in the monastery of Pignerol. On the 9th June, 1627, several heads of protestant families were arrested simultaneously at Luzerna, Bubiana, Champiglone, and Fenile, and taken prisoners to Cavour, with the result which has been already related in this work.

In 1628, a French army, under the marquis d'Uxel, presented itself at the entrance to the Alps, on its way to Montferrat to serve against the troops of Charles-Emanuel. The Vaudois were called upon to defend their mountains, and acquitted themselves valiantly of this charge. The duke himself twice visited them, at this time, and paid due homage to their patriotism; for they received no pay, but only bread. This, indeed, was a great point; for the harvest had failed in Piedmont in 1627, and in the spring

of 1628 the poor folk had been compelled to sell everything they possessed, in order to purchase food at Queyras. The presence of the French army on the frontiers aggravated their misery by impeding this barter; and, by and bye, the people of Queyras, growing alarmed at the quantity of provisions that were leaving their district, prohibited any further exportations, and even imprisoned the famished wretches who came in search of supplies.

The monks of Pinerolo and their acolytes availed themselves of these circumstances to seek to purchase, from the starving Vaudois, abjuration at the price of a loaf of bread. In this good work especially signalized himself Marc-Aurelio Borengo, the son of a gentleman of La Torre, who, having quitted the magistracy for the popish church, had been appointed prior of Luzerna on his undertaking to employ his utmost efforts in the suppression of heresy. Having procured a religious corporation to purchase his father's house, he immediately converted it into a monastery of reformed Franciscans; and the brethren, on being installed (23rd June, 1628), at once proceeded to distribute food amongst the famished population, with brilliant promises to the protestants who would consent to catholicize. But, faithful to the example of the primitive church, the Vaudois, rejecting these insidious proffers, made a common store of all their possessions, and distributed daily bread to all who asked for it. The monks, frustrated in this direction, applied their efforts at conversion by famine to the other Vaudois communes, but with as little success. At Bobbio, the Vaudois would not even permit the monks to perform mass, and they accordingly proceeded to Villaro, where they fitted up an old ruined palace, which has since become the catholic church of the place. At Rora, two monks were located in a deserted house. The language of these ecclesiastics was at first exceedingly mild and conciliating; but on the 29th December they showed the scorpion's tail, in the shape of an edict, published by count Bighem, which "forbade all persons to trouble or vex, in any way or degree, the very reverend Observantine fathers, whatever they were pleased to do, under penalty of death to the offender, and of a fine of 10,000 gold crowns upon the commune in which the offence should be committed; every informer receiving 200 gold crowns, and his name being kept secret." Next, count Philip of Luzerna denounced the most terrible menaces against the people of Bobbio and those of Angrogna, who had absolutely refused to

permit, under any pretext, any Observantines to settle in their districts.

The governor of Pinerolo, count Capri, then proceeded into the valleys, assembled all the syndics and pastors, and informed them that the pope and the duke were resolved that the monks should be established in the mountains; and that if the Vaudois would not admit them voluntarily, force would be employed. "To-morrow," he said, "I will have mass performed at Bobbio."

On the morrow, accordingly, he proceeded with the Romish ecclesiastics to Bobbio; but every door, every window, was closed, and not a single person was visible. He summoned the syndic, and ordered him to have a stable, at all events, opened for his service; but the syndic replied, that his authority ceased at the threshold of private houses. "Well, then," exclaimed the count, "I will force open your own house."—"Your lordship will reflect before you act thus," returned the syndic, with respectful calmness. The count did reflect, that the defenders of the village, though not visible, were none the less near, and he accordingly contented himself with performing mass on the high road, after which he withdrew. Two days afterwards he proceeded to Angrogna on a similar mission, and had precisely the same reception, with the same result. Towards the close of January, 1629, he went to La Torre, in company with a French gentleman, M. de Serres, convoked the syndics, and attempted to intimidate them into receiving the monks, but to no purpose. On the contrary, the Vaudois shortly afterwards assembled in arms, surrounded the habitations in which the monks had established themselves, and called upon them to withdraw. They refused; whereupon, it being prohibited to the men to lay hands upon them, the women approached, forced open the doors, and some of these robust mountaineers, accustomed to carry heavy burdens, shouldering the poor ecclesiastics like so many bundles of wood, carried them off. Their furniture, goods, copes, reliques, &c., were then packed in carts, and transported beyond the limits of the commune after the owners. The clergy complained to the court, and the Vaudois sent deputies to defend them. The result was an edict, dated 22nd February, 1629, by which the former concessions to the Vaudois were confirmed, and the vexations practised on them ordered to be discontinued.

On the 16th July, 1630, Charles-Emanuel died, aged sixty-eight years and a half, after a reign of half a century; and at his death, France took possession of Savoy and part of Piedmont.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PLAGUE AND THE MONKS.

1629 — 1643.

IN 1629, the year after the famine, the poor inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys, who, having no harvests of their own, were in the habit of repairing to the rich domains of Piedmont, and giving their services in exchange for a certain quantity of corn, were deprived of this resource, by the popish priests, who, from the pulpits, forbade their congregations to employ a single protestant labourer, and even themselves menaced to kill any follower of the "religion" whom they should find in their fields.

On the 23rd of August, of the same year, at eight in the morning, a formidable storm of rain, a complete water-spout, an absolute deluge, suddenly fell upon the Col Julian, and created an inundation on both sides of the mountain. The villages of Prali and Bobbio were so suddenly invaded by the torrent, that the inhabitants had scarcely time to escape, and many houses were utterly destroyed. In September, there came a wind of intense coldness, accompanied by a dry cloud or mist, and the chesnut crop was utterly annihilated; then there came a second inundation of rain, which destroyed all the grapes. On the 12th of that month, the Vaudois ministers assembled in solemn synod, in testimony of their fraternal union, little deeming that they would never again meet in this world, and that of those fifteen pastors two only would, ere a few months elapsed, survive their brethren.

In 1630, a French army, placed, by cardinal Richelieu, under the command of three marshals of France, De Schomberg, De la Force, and De Crequi, to oppose the projects of Savoy on Montferrat, made its appearance in the Vaudois valleys. The Vaudois, having in vain appealed to the duke for succours, sent deputies to the marshal de la Force, who was encamped with a detachment at Briqueras. "Yield yourselves to the king," replied he, "and we will protect you; otherwise, we will kill, burn, exterminate you." Left without resource, the Vaudois capitulated (5th April), on the assurance that all their privileges

should be respected, and that they should not be required to serve against their sovereign.

Towards the close of April, the king of France set out from Lyon, with all his court, to march upon Savoy. A deputation of Vaudois waited upon him at Moutiers, and obtained the confirmation of their privileges. By the treaty of Ratisbon, which terminated this war, the valleys of Luzerna and San Martino were restored to Piedmont, but those of Perosa and Pragela, with Pinerolo, remained in the dominion of France.

In this same deplorable year, 1630, a scourge still more terrible than war deprived the Vaudois valleys of nearly two-thirds of their population. The heat was excessive at the time when the army of Richelieu entered the valleys; in that army were many volunteers, who had fled from France to escape the plague, which then raged in that country; but, in their flight, they had still brought the seeds of the pestilence with them. In the first week of May, this terrible malady manifested itself in the village of Porte, near Perosa. Next it appeared at San Germano, then at Prali, and soon it spread throughout all the valleys. The pastors immediately, pursuant to the custom of their church, assembled together to consult the Lord, to seek inspiration from prayer and meditation, and to discuss, one with the other, the course they should pursue in this alarming conjuncture. This meeting took place at Pramoli. In a few days afterwards, the pestilence broke out at Pramoli also, and the pastors began to hold their preachings in the open fields. In June, the commune of Angrogna was invaded by the pestilence, and on the 11th of July, there fell beneath its stroke the pastor of San Giovanni, and the pastor of Meano; on the 12th, the pastor of Prali; on the 24th, the pastor of Angrogna. Before the 1st of August, seven other Vaudois ministers died. On the 2nd of August, the six surviving ministers met on Mont Saumette, an isolated eminence in the centre of the three valleys, near La Vachera. Here, after weeping and praying, they distributed among themselves the care of the vacant churches; but, in a little while, three of the six followed their brethren; and the three survivors then held a conference on the heights of Angrogna, with deputies from all the parishes of the valleys, to determine upon the means of providing for the celebration of worship. Letters were despatched to Constantinople, recalling Antony Leger; to Geneva, for a supply of protestant clergy; to Grenoble, im-

ploring the pastors of Dauphiny to come and console and strengthen the Vaudois church, thus cruelly tried.

There remained but one pastor for each of the three valleys; Peter Gilles in that of Luzerna; Valerius Gros, in that of San Martino; and John Barthelemy, in that of Perosa. But on the 22nd of April, 1631, the plague seized upon John Barthelemy also, and on the 25th he died; so that upon the venerable ministers Gilles and Gros, already worn down by years and infirmities, devolved the care of all the churches of the Vaudois.

The mysterious and terrible scourge, which had subsided during the winter, rose up again, with renewed force, in the spring of 1631, and extended its ravages to the hills of Angrogna and Bobbio, which it had before spared. More than 12,000 persons died in the valleys; in La Torre alone, upwards of fifty families became completely extinct. The crops rotted in the fields, for there was no one to reap them; the fruits fell from the trees, for there was no one to gather them. During the summer heats, horsemen were seen to fall from their saddles to the ground, seized with sudden death. "The highways," says Gilles, "were so encumbered with the dead bodies of men and animals, that they were almost impassable. Many estates were abandoned, for want, not merely of cultivators, but of proprietors. Towns and villages, lately full of life and occupation, of merchants, artisans, labourers, became silent and desert. Whole families, in numberless instances, disappeared; there was no family which did not lose some of its members. The venerable minister, Gilles, lost his four elder sons, and being, with the exception of Valerius Gros, the sole surviving pastor of the valleys, found his duties augmented with his afflictions; but God gave him strength to bear his double burden of calamity and labour. He went through all the parishes, preached twice every Sunday, and once, at least, every other day; visited the sick, and consoled the afflicted, calm and serene amid his dying flock, to whom he communicated his own unshakable confidence in Him who raises up the fallen and heals those whom he has wounded. His indefatigable devotedness carried him through every danger; and he was preserved to the Vaudois church, and with him that most complete monument of the ancient Vaudois history, which he has transmitted to us in his chronicle, so rich in details respecting an epoch otherwise but little known.

The pastor Brunet was the first who hastened from Geneva to succour the valleys; he arrived in December, 1630, the month

before the cessation of the plague. Other ministers of the gospel followed ; but none of them could administer divine service in the Italian tongue, which had hitherto been the language of Vaudois preaching and spiritual instruction. It was necessary, therefore, to have the service performed in French ; and as the ancient language of the Vaudois is a dialect between French and Italian, the people soon became accustomed to the new formulary. From this period date the regular relations which have ever since been maintained between the Vaudois church and that of Geneva.

The most urgent functions which the new pastors had first to accomplish in the valleys was the re-organization of their churches, so cruelly decimated. " It was a marvel unprecedented in these countries," says Gilles, " to see the multitude of marriages that took place at this time. Everywhere the plague had taken from parents their children, from children their parents, from the husband his wife, from the wife her husband ; so that, all being desolate, each sought out a brother or a sister with whom to raise up the fallen habitations and to create a new home."

War, the other scourge from which the valleys had suffered so grievously, disappeared shortly after the plague. On the 6th of April, 1631, Victor Amadeus signed, at Queyras, a treaty of peace, by which he resumed possession of all his states, and obtained some towns in Montferrat, as an equivalent for Pinerolo and the valley of Perosa, which remained in the hands of France.

On the eve of his return to Turin, he received, at Carignano, a deputation from the Vaudois, whom he received with much kindness, saying to them : " Be good subjects to me, and I will be a good prince to you." The prior of Luzerna, Rorengo, and the superior of the monastery of La Torre, Fra Paolo, no sooner heard of this favourable reception, than they applied themselves to counteract it, and all sorts of offences were alleged at court against the Vaudois ; so that, when another deputation of these waited on the prince (8th September, 1632), to solicit from him the formal ratification of their privileges, he informed them that an officer of state was about to proceed to the valleys to inquire into the offences which had been laid to their charge, and that to this officer they might state their grievances. Soon afterwards, accordingly, a commissioner, accompanied by Rorengo, visited all the valleys, collected information, and received complaints. The nature of his report is unknown ; but, in the following year, another commissioner, Christopher Fauzon, summoned a meeting

of Vaudois delegates at La Torre, and proceeded first to harangue and then to question them. He told them they were charged with having recently established themselves at Luzerna and Bubiana: they proved that they had been established in both places from time immemorial. He contested the right of the parishioners of San Giovanni to ring a bell for the purpose of summoning the faithful to church: they showed that this custom had been also immemorial. Ultimately, he demanded from the Vaudois a written statement of the proofs by which they assumed to establish their right to celebrate the protestant worship, in each of their parishes. After some hesitation, for the Vaudois feared a new snare, the document was furnished, and the commissioner quitted the valleys. No communication was made with reference to the written statement supplied by the Vaudois, and things remained in their previous condition. It was at this period that Rorengo and Belvidere issued their polemical writings, which were so ably confuted by the indefatigable Gilles, in his "*Considérations sur les Lettres Apostoliques des Sieurs Marc-Aurele Rorengo, prieur de Luzerne, et Théodore Belvidere, Préfet des Moines*" (1635), and his "*Torre Evangelica*" (1636).

CHAPTER XIX.

MORE MARTYRS.

1535 — 1635.



N the time of the Reformation, the christians of Provence and of the valleys placed themselves in communication with the reformers. The consequent animadversion of the church first assailed the Provençals, about Avignon. This Rome of the west found it necessary to combat the religious awakening which menaced her predominance, and the inquisitor Gio-

vanni de Roma raised the first martyr-pyres on the slopes of Leberon. The proceedings against these victims made known the presence, among the heretics of Provence, of many persons who had come from the valleys of Piedmont. Here-upon the count of Aix wrote to the senate of Turin, and the senate appointed a commissioner,

Pantaleone Bersori, to proceed to Provence, and inquire further into the matter. Bersori returned from Provence with numerous and precise data as to the leading Vaudois families in Piedmont, and the high antiquity and extensive ramifications of the ministry of the barbas, accomplishing its work in silence and obscurity, that it might bear more fruit.

Bersori, furnished with the information he had collected in Provence, proceeded to the valleys, and continued there the inquisitorial proceedings begun in Provence by the court of Aix. There was no want of witnesses ready to testify to the evangelical faith. One of these, Bernardino Fea, of San Segonzo, upon being interrogated by the judge, as to the communications he had had with the heretics, replied:

“When I was at Briqueras, in 1529, I met Louis Turin, of San Giovanni, who took me with him to his house. There, another inhabitant of San Giovanni, Catalan Girardet, who came in, invited us to go to La Torre, where, he said, we should hear good things; Louis Turin also requested me to go; and we went.



PRALI—VALLEY OF ST. MARTIN.

"On arriving at La Torre, Catalan conducted us to the house of Chabert-Ughet, where, in a large room, we found a number of persons assembled. A barba, named Philip, was preaching, and, after his sermon, he questioned me, and then instructed me in various points of their religion."

"What did he say?"

"That there is no salvation except in Jesus Christ, and that we ought to do good works, not in order that we may be saved, but because we have been saved."

As this witness had not ceased to attend mass, he was not prosecuted; but Catalan Girardet was arrested, and, on his refusing to apostatize, was condemned to be burned alive. He died firm and serene, his forehead radiant, amid the flames that were devouring him, with the blessed assurance of the salvation he had received, and of the eternal happiness he was about to receive.

Shortly after the count de la Trinité had put the Vaudois valleys to fire and sword, the pastor of Prali, Martin, was visited by two men who had been in the service of the seigneurs du Perrier, those malignant foes of the Vaudois, the cruel and treacherous Truchets. The pastor of Prali was a Frenchman; his two visitors announced themselves as also Frenchmen; and Martin received them as countrymen. They expressed a desire to enter the reformed church, and the good pastor invited them to remain his guests, till he had shown them the way to salvation. The parishioners, who distrusted these two men, partly from instinct, partly from the fact that they were recognised as having not long before borne arms against the Vaudois, entreated Martin to be on his guard; but the simple and excellent creature believed in the sincerity of his guests' conversion, and appealed to the christian sentiments of his flock for a more charitable construction. The population of Prali, however, remained full of anxiety, and saw with regret and apprehension the two men still abiding with their beloved pastor, who had no family, and lived in a retired spot. At length, the pastor did not make his wonted appearance at the church for the celebration of divine service. The people, in a state of fearful suspense, hastened to his house. The door was closed; they knocked; no one replied. Some of the parishioners forced their way into the cottage through a window, and in an instant their cries of anguish announced a deplorable catastrophe. The pastor Martin lay lifeless, bathed in his own blood. The monsters, whom he had treated as his children, had cut his throat, stripped the house, and fled. The Vaudois has-

toned in pursuit of the assassins, but could discover no traces of them. Some time afterwards, however, they audaciously returned to the valleys in the service of the seigneurs du Perrier, who thus manifested themselves the accomplices, and who had probably been the instigators of this odious murder.

So fierce was the hostility of the persecutors, that Barberi, the duke's commissioner, absolutely arrested and imprisoned the secretary of an embassy sent by the elector palatine to Emanuel-Philibert, for the purpose of interceding with him in favour of the Vaudois. The only pretext for seizing the secretary was, that he was a protestant pastor; he was, of course, immediately released. In a letter which this official addressed to the Vaudois, he states—"The chancellor Stropiano, in reply to our intercession for you, accuses you of being disturbers of the public peace; says that the Vaudois are conspiring against the state; and cites, in support of this accusation, the case of nine Vaudois who lately assembled in a frontier town, and whom he arrested as conspirators." Now the simple fact, as to this pretended conspiracy, is, that a few christians having met for worship in a private house at Bourg, in Bresse, were engaged in prayer, when a number of archers surrounded the house, and took them prisoners. As it was necessary to devise some charge to justify this gross violation of private rights, the Vaudois were accused of being suspected of meeting to conspire against the state; and as they could not disprove that they were suspected, they were sent to the galleys.

The Vaudois of Dauphiny and Provence paid at this time, in like manner, their tribute of martyrs to the constant testimony of the christian church against antichrist.

The valley of La Grave, which slopes from Mont Pelvoux in a direction opposite to Val-Louise, had been enlightened by some wandering rays of the evangelical light, the focus of which was in the centre of the Vaudois valleys. A pedlar of Villaro, a remote village of this valley, after having taken his family to Geneva, to be there instructed and led in the ways of the Lord, himself returned to France in pursuit of his trade. Being a skilful worker in coral, Romeyer proceeded towards Marseilles, for the purpose of purchasing a supply of that article, and on his road endeavoured to dispose of the coral ornaments he had with him.

At Dragnignan, he showed them to a goldsmith of the town, named Lanteaume, who greatly admired them, and was desirous of purchasing them; but the parties, not being able to agree about

the price, separated. There was at this time at Draguignan, the baron de Lauris, son-in-law of Menier d'Oppede, whose name is written in letters of blood in the history of the Vaudois. Lanteaume, loath to see the property quit the place, insidiously counselled Romeyer to show it to the baron de Lauris, who, being a rich seigneur, might be disposed to purchase it. The cupidity of the baron having been aroused by a sight of the ornaments, Lanteaume went and informed him that the owner was a Lutheran; and as confiscation of goods always accompanied a sentence of death, the two accomplices at once came to an understanding. Romeyer was arrested by order of De Lauris, in April, 1558. After various private interrogatories, in which he made no secret whatever of his religious faith, the tribunal of Draguignan assembled for his trial. An Observantine monk, on the preceding day, celebrated a mass to the Holy Ghost, "in order," as he said, "that the Holy Ghost might inspire the judges to condemn the cursed Lutheran to the flames." But his mass did not produce the effect he desired; for a young advocate, addressing the tribunal, pointed out that Romeyer had been guilty of no legal offence; that he had neither preached nor dogmatised in France; that he was a foreigner; was only occupied in Provence with his trade; and that justice, instead of condemning, ought to protect him. The whole bar supported this argument. The judges were half of them for an acquittal, half for condemnation, and the prisoner was relegated to his dungeon. One of the judges, who had voted for condemnation, had previously been with the prisoner in his cell, seeking to intimidate him, and, failing therein, had pronounced against him from the bench.

Upon the decision of the judges being made known, the Observantine monk, who had made a sort of personal matter of the case, and who saw the credit of his masses and his prayers singularly compromised in public opinion by this result of the trial, had the bells of his monastery rung, harangued the mob who assembled at the sound, and insisted that good catholics should not permit an infamous heretic, a Lutheran, an accursed soul, to pollute, with impunity, the devout town of Draguignan with his presence. Having thus excited the populace, the worthy monk proceeded to the official and consuls of the town, representing that their honour was concerned in preserving intact the excellent reputation of their dear city; and then, all together, followed by the infuriated mob, went to the magistrates, vociferating that unless they condemned the heretic to be burned alive, they themselves would

denounce them to the parliament, the king, the pope, and to all the powers of the earth, to procure their destruction. Such is the religious fervour of popery!

The lieutenant of the king, who, at this time, was the representative, in each district, of the administration, invoked the respect due to judicial forms, which ought not to be set aside, even as against a heretic.

"Kill him! kill him!" cried the people. "Burn him! burn him!" cried the people.

The magistrate, unable to appease the tumult, promised to proceed to Aix, and lay the matter before the parliament.

The populace was, thereupon, about to disperse; but the monk, not satisfied, required that four persons should go to Aix, at the expense of the town, and urge the condemnation of Romeyer. As these four deputies were on their way, they met one of the presidents of the court of Aix, who said to them: "Surely you need not so many formalities to burn a heretic!" The deputation, upon this hint, turned back, and proceeded to expedite the sentence of death. The lieutenant, who pursued his way to Aix, laid the matter before the court, and the court issued an order that the court at Draguignan should not try the prisoner; but fanaticism was not to be balked of its prey; Barberi, the attorney-general, repairing to Aix, procured the withdrawal of the prohibition, and permission for the judges at Draguignan to try the prisoner, or, in other words, judicially to assassinate him.

He was condemned to be first racked, then broken on the wheel, and, lastly, burned to death by a slow fire. He might have relieved himself from all these tortures, by abjuration; but the monk who was sent to make this proposition to him, returned with the announcement that he had found him *pertinax*, infallibly accursed. Forthwith, from all the pulpits round about, it was announced that, on the 16th of May, there would take place the public execution of an atrocious Lutheran; and in the town of Draguignan itself, proclamation was made, by sound of trumpet, that every good catholic should bring a billet of wood to form the funeral pyre.

On the appointed morning, the deputy-lieutenant, several judges, lay and ecclesiastic, and the consuls of the town, proceeded to the dungeon of the prisoner, to apply the torture. They displayed before him the rack, the cords, the wedges, the iron bars, all the instruments of torture invented by the successors of the martyr-apostle.

"Denounce your accomplices, abjure your errors, and save yourself these torments," said the deputy-lieutenant.

"I have no accomplices," replied Romeyer; "and I have nothing to abjure, for I profess only the law of Christ. You call my profession perverse and erroneous; but, in the day of judgment, God will proclaim it, against its transgressors, just and holy." Thereupon, relates Crispin, he was put on the rack, and cruelly stretched by the cords: in his anguish, he called unto God to have pity on him, for the love of Jesus. "Implore the Virgin," cried the idolaters. "There is but one mediator," replied the sufferer, "even Jesus: oh, God, mercy!" and he fainted; for, upon his refusal to invoke the Virgin, the tormentors had wrested his limbs more cruelly than before. Fearing that he might die before he was burned, the monks and priests disengaged his mangled frame from the wheel; the bones of his legs and arms were broken, and their fractured points came through his flesh. Some cordial was given to him to restore animation, and he was then carried to the place of final execution, and fastened by a chain to the post which rose amid the pyre.

"Invoke the Virgin and the saints," thundered a monk. The poor pedlar could only reply by a faint movement of the head, in the negative. The executioner thereupon set fire to the pile. At first, being chiefly composed of branches and brushwood, it flamed furiously; but soon subsiding into a mass, the martyr hung suspended from the stake over the devouring heap; his lower limbs were scorched, burned, his entrails came forth, and his poor frame was already consumed below, when his lips were still seen moving, emitting, indeed, no sound, but testifying, within, a last invocation of the martyr to his God, a last appeal to that Christ who had died for him.

I may here give an illustration of the arrogant opposition which the Inquisition, from time to time, manifested towards even crowned heads who sought to save its victims.

According to the convention at Cavour, in 1561, between Emanuel-Philibert and the Vaudois, the latter were in no sort to be proceeded against for any acts which had taken place during the war of 1560. A man of San Giovanni, named Gasparo Orselli, having been taken prisoner at that epoch, had, to save his life, promised to catholicize; but, upon peace being concluded, he had returned to the open profession of the faith which, at heart, he had never abandoned. The inquisitors thereupon had him seized, and confined him in the dungeons of the holy office at Turin.

The Vaudois claimed him, in the name of the amnesty, and the duke ordered the inquisitors to release him; but they refused to obey. The edict of Cavour was recalled to them. "Our order is not subject to the secular power," replied the worthy Dominicans, who yet were ever ready to make use of the power they refused to recognise. Philibert, indignant at this insolent rebellion, sent them word that all the frocked legions in the world should not make him break his word, and that, unless they forthwith released the captive, he would batter their house down upon their heads.

At this unexpected menace, the holy office forthwith gave way, Orselli was released, and the duke, to whom all honour is due for his firmness on this occasion, wrote (20th of November, 1570) to the Vaudois, assuring them of his continued protection.

When liberty of conscience was suppressed in Piedmont, the noble family of Bazana, among others, retired to the valley of Luzerna, where the evangelical worship was still permitted. A member of this family, Sebastiano Bazana, who had received his spiritual training from the lips of the pastor Gilles, destined afterwards to become the narrator of his martyrdom, had, after the death of his father, settled with his aged mother, his two brothers, and their families, at La Torre. There his zeal for the christian faith drew upon him the animosity of the monks, who, watching for the occasion, had him seized at Carmagnola, 26th of April, 1622, and threw him into the dungeons of the castle there, whence, after an imprisonment of four months, he was transferred to those of the senate at Turin. The courageous captive was not without intercessors to solicit his pardon, nor christian brethren to console him. The latter alone were successful.

"Greatly doth God favour me by your letters and your prayers," he wrote to Gilles on the 14th of July, "for all good comes to us from him, even friendship itself." From the dungeons of the senate, he was transferred to those of the Inquisition, at whose gates, as at those of the lower hell, those who enter may leave all hope behind. At first his reception was of the most flattering description, so far as honied words and professions of intense interest in his welfare might go; but the adopted son of the valleys knew these wolves in sheep's clothing too thoroughly to heed their allurements, and the firm calmness with which he adhered to his convictions soon aroused the wrath of the persecutors. The wolves showed their teeth. Menaces of the most cruel character were soon followed up by still more

cruel execution : after threat came torture ; but the victim yielded not. Many powerful intercessions were made in favour of poor Bazana. Among others, Lesdiguières himself, though he had, some time before, become a papist, wrote thus (15th of February, 1623) to the duke of Savoy : “ I solicit from your highness the life and liberty of one Sebastiano Bazana, a prisoner in your city of Turin. He is a man against whom there is no reproach, save his religion ; and if all who profess that religion are to be punished with death, the great christian princes, with your highness yourself, would have some difficulty in repopulating their states. The king of France has taken all his subjects professing that religion into his peace, and I would counsel your highness to do the same. It will be the surest way of firmly establishing tranquillity throughout your dominions.” Lesdiguières followed up this letter by two others to the same purpose, and the duke of Savoy called upon the Inquisition to comply with their benevolent request ; but the inquisitors answered, with unctuous humility, that the matter was no longer in their hands, having been submitted to the decision of Rome.

Several months passed away ; for a year and a half Sebastiano Bazana protested, by his earnest and energetic resignation, against the violence with which the christian faith was struck in his person. On the 22nd of November, 1623, his sentence was announced to him : he was condemned to be burned alive. “ I welcome my death,” he answered, with courageous gentleness, “ since it is the will of God, and will, I trust, be for his glory. But as to men, they have pronounced an unjust sentence, and they will soon have to render their account for it.” I know not whether by fortuitous coincidence, or by the judgment of God, but certain it is, that he who had pronounced the iniquitous judgment, was, that very night, struck with death in his own house. His victim followed him the next morning, 23rd of November, 1623.

As Bazana was quitting the gates of his prison, on his way to execution, they fastened a bandage over his mouth, in order to stifle his evangelical voice even at the pyre. But as the executioner was tying him to the stake, the bandage fell off, and the martyr thus proclaimed the cause of his death :—“ People,” he said, “ it is for no crime I die, but for seeking to act in conformity with the word of God ; to sustain truth against error ; to —.” Here the inquisitors stayed him, by putting light to the pile : Bazana set up the song of Simeon, as versified by

Theodore Beza, that touching canticle, sung by the faithful of his church after the sacrament :—

“Laisse-moi désormais,
Seigneur, aller en paix,
Car selon ta promesse,
Tu fais voir à mes yeux
Le salut glorieux
Que j'attendais sans cesse !”

But his voice was soon silenced by the flames.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PROPAGANDA.

1637 — 1655.

CHARLES-EMANUEL II. acceded to the throne of Savoy on the 4th of October, 1638, being at that time but four years and some months old. It was under his reign that the most terrible persecutions that ever ensanguined the Vaudois valleys took place, yet we cannot justly make him alone responsible for the crime, since, up to his majority, it was his mother who governed in character of regent. This was Christine of France, daughter of Henry IV. and of Mary de' Medici, who inherited all the hard and haughty attributes of her grandmother, so that it was the spirit of the Medicis, rather than that of the house of Savoy, which presided over the carnage of 1655.

From 1637 to 1642, Thomas and Maurice of Savoy, brothers of the late king, disputed, with his widow, the regency of his states, a struggle which occasioned the most disastrous troubles to Piedmont. Then, from 1642 to 1659, there was the war with the Spaniards, to eject whom from her dominions Christine found herself necessitated to call in the troops of France. All this while, the fomenters of Rome were pursuing their work against the Vaudois valleys; and in these pious labours they were now materially aided by the *congregatio de propagandâ fide*, a society composed of both priests and laymen, established at Rome in 1622, by pope Gregory XV., for the purpose of propagating the catholic faith. This association soon dominated with its influence the secular clergy, who had imprudently admitted

it as an ally; and, ere long, the torch of conflagration in one hand, the sword of death in the other, and its feet in blood, it proceeded to the savage extermination of all doctrines not accordant with its own. Nothing was forgotten in its work, except the gospel: and what has it gained? that which persecution ever gains—the burden of crimes committed, the responsibility of blood poured forth, the execration of mankind. It was the prior of Luzerna, Marc' Aurelio Rorengo, who planted in the Vaudois valleys the first shoot of this powerful tree, the branches of which were soon to overspread Piedmont, and cover it with the ensanguined fruits of the most odious fanaticism. A member of the Roman propaganda, a preaching monk, named Placido Corso, noted for his polemical talent, was despatched to the valleys to labour at the conversion of the Vaudois. On arriving, 10th of November, 1637, at La Torre, his first proceeding was to invite the pastor of the place, Gilles, the historian, to a discussion, which was at once accepted. The monk committed to paper all the arguments and data upon which the Roman-catholic church arrogates for itself the titles of apostolical and sacred; Gilles refuted these; numerous letters were exchanged in continuation of the controversy, until, at length, Placido Corso left his antagonist's last response unanswered.

Hoping to be more successful in a conference *vivâ voce*, where his adversary would not have time for selecting and weighing his arguments, the popish propagandist next applied to Antony Leger, who, recently returned from Constantinople, where he had filled the office of chaplain to the embassy, was now performing the modest duties of pastor in the ancient parish of San Giovanni; and it was agreed that a public conference should take place at La Torre, on the 4th of December, 1637; Rorengo, at his own desire, acting as president, Seipio Bastia, the younger, as secretary for the protestants, and the Capuchin, Fra Lorenzo, as secretary for the catholics.

The first conference was occupied entirely with one of the most difficult questions of canonical theology, that of the apocryphal books. The second conference, which took place on 1st January, 1638, at San Giovanni, lasted till nightfall; after this the propagandist refused to have anything further to say to a set of dogmatists who, he affirmed, made a pope of the bible. The bible was to the Vaudois far more than a pope; but the servile slave of the holy see could conceive no similitude

more effective. The next controversialist who undertook to combat the Vaudois pastors was a Minorite, brother Hilarion; but after a few letters exchanged with the pastor of Bobbio, Francis Guerin, he also gave up the contest. The victor, however, had subsequently to pay the penalty of his victory, in being (1651) driven from his country by the Inquisition. The weapon of dialectics failing them, the papists had recourse to assassination and abduction. A young man, the servant of an English protestant, Mr. Moreton, was assassinated at La Torre; a girl of Bubiana was carried off by the monks; her brother, who hastened to her assistance, was slain, and the girl herself, taken off to Turin, was never afterwards heard of by her friends.

In the contest for the regency, the Vaudois armed in support of the duchess Christine, and, opening a way through the Alps to the French succours under Turenne and D'Harcourt, were the means of restoring to the regent one of the most valuable provinces of her realm. The return for this eminent service was the cruellest ingratitude. Antony Leger, who had taken the lead in asserting the claims of Christine, was driven from his parish by persecution, under the most frivolous pretext, and compelled to take refuge at Geneva, where he long lived an honoured professor of the Academy. The next act of arbitrary rule on the part of the regent, in her anxiety to win over the popish clergy from her competitor, the cardinal Maurice, of Savoy, was to issue an order (3rd November, 1637) for all the Vaudois who had settled out of the precise limits of their valleys, to return within those limits in three days. At about the same time, instructions were communicated to the magistrates in favour of the Capuchin missionaries, upon whose denunciation the podestas were commanded forthwith to arrest all suspected persons. In the following year (9th November, 1638), another royal decree was published against any territorial extension on the part of the Vaudois, who were prohibited from purchasing or even farming lands beyond their own narrow limits, on pain of confiscation and death. This prohibition was renewed in April, 1640; and with it came orders to the prefect of the province, Rossano, to interdict the protestant worship at San Giovanni, and to close the Vaudois church there. To superintend the execution of this edict, there was sent from Turin a special delegate, a doctor of laws of Moncaliere, and auditor of state, noted for his Romish zeal, one Gas-taldo. The first proceeding of this official, after having esta-

blished himself at Luzerna, was to cite before him (14th January, 1641) all such Vaudois as had property beyond the limits that were assigned to them, which limits had just previously been still further narrowed, by interdicting to the Vaudois the right bank of the Pelice. The persons so cited having refused to appear, their property of every description was forthwith confiscated to the public exchequer. Next, in January, 1642, came an edict ordering, among other matters, that the Castellans in the Vaudois valleys should lend gratuitous aid to the Capuchin missionaries in all cases where so required by them, should attend all meetings held by the Vaudois, and, where they thought fit, dissolve them. The Vaudois, on their part, were prohibited from meeting, except in the presence of the said Castellans, under penalty of fifty golden crowns for each offence and each offender; the edict winding up with the promise of exemption from all public charges whatsoever, during the space of five years, to every protestant who would consent to catholicize. On February 17th, 1644, was proclaimed a prohibition to the Vaudois to quit their limits at all, even for a few hours, except on fair days. On the 18th of September, 1645, the magistrates of the surrounding districts were enjoined to seize all Vaudois found in their localities; the official celebration of the catholic worship was ordered in all the protestant parishes; an establishment, which proved an utter failure, was formed at Luzerna, to receive and endow young Vaudois girls who would consent to abjure. On the 20th of February, 1650, the propagandists obtained an edict suspending all the privileges which had been granted to the Vaudois, until they should have demolished the eleven churches they possessed beyond their own special limits, had dismissed all their foreign pastors, had closed all their numerous trans-territorial schools, and consented to the universal celebration of the catholic worship throughout the valleys. On the 15th of May, in the same year, Gastaldo was directed to restrict the limits of the Vaudois, above San Giovanni and La Torre, and to compel all such as were settled in those communes, and in those of Luzernella, Bubiana, Fenile, and San Segonzo, to quit them within three days, under pain of death, and to sell their properties therein within fifteen days, under penalty of confiscation. The wholly protestant communes of Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, and Rora, were ordered to maintain each a mission of Capuchins; and foreign protestants were prohibited

from settling in the valleys, under pain of death to themselves, and a penalty of 1000 golden crowns upon the commune that should receive them. Gastaldo, however, little sympathy as he had with the Vaudois, saw the utter monstrosity of this Draconian, or, which is the same thing, popish decree, and by his intervention it was, after a while, withdrawn.

But, meanwhile, the propaganda had acquired large development, by the jubilee, which, in 1550, brought to Rome the rich tribute of the superstitious of universal Europe; a sort of popular enthusiasm arose for this work, access to which was open to all catholics, of whatsoever rank, and which procured plenary indulgence for all, for princes and peasants alike, who there met, for once, on a common level. Hence, the propaganda made rapid progress, not only in Italy, but in France, having special councils in all the towns of those countries; and it was at this time that it added to its original title, *de propaganda fide*, the further designation, *et extirpandis hæreticis*. The councils were composed of both laymen and ecclesiastics, and there being plenary indulgence for all propagandists, women also took part in the proceedings, so that there were councils of men and councils of women. At Turin, where the institution became established (31st of May, 1650) under the distinguished sanction of a royal ordinance, the male council was presided over by the archbishop of the city and by the marquis di San Tommaso, and the female by the marchioness di Pianeza, who thus sought, in a mistaken religious zeal, to expiate the sins of a dissipated youth.

Every means was resorted to by the propagandists to achieve the aim of their society. "The lady propagandists," writes Leger, "distributed the towns into districts, and each visited the district assigned to her twice a week; suborning simple girls, servant-maids, and young children, by their flattering allurements and fair promises, and doing evil turns to such as would not listen to them. They had their spies everywhere, who, among other information, ascertained in what protestant families domestic disagreements existed; and hither would the propagandists repair, stirring up the flame of dissension in order to separate the husband from the wife, the wife from the husband, the children from the parents; promising them, and, indeed, giving them great advantages, if they would consent to attend mass. Did they hear of a tradesman whose business was falling off, or of a gentleman who from gambling or otherwise was in want of money,

these ladies were ever at hand with their *dabo tibi*, on condition of apostasy ; and the prisoner was, in like manner, released from his dungeon, who would give himself up to them. To meet the very heavy expenses of this proselytizing, to keep the machinery at work, to purchase the souls who sold themselves for bread, regular collections were made in the chapels and in private families, in the shops, in the inns, in the gambling-houses, in the streets—everywhere was alms-seeking in operation, for the extirpation of heresy. The marchioness of Pianezza herself, great lady as she was, used every second or third day to make a circuit in search of subscriptions, even going into the taverns for that purpose. Twice a week the councils assembled to receive an account of what the members had respectively done, to consult what measures should next be taken, and to arrange for securing the aid, where necessary, of the secular arm—an aid, for that matter, never refused to them. The councils in the market towns were in subordination to those of the metropolitan towns ; these to those of the capital, and these to that of Rome, the great spider that held the threads of all this mighty web."

All the Vaudois children whom they could abstract from their parents' houses, were considered by these misguided zealots as so many innocents rescued from the jaws of perdition ; the greatest sacrifices were incurred, the vengeance of man and the decrees of the laws alike braved, in the abduction of these children, who were then placed with rich catholic families, who undertook their maintenance, or in convents, which undertook to wean them gradually from the world, from their country, from the pure affections of the heart, and from the biblical faith, natural and revealed law being alike scorned by the barbarous spirit of catholicism.

Another *modus operandi* adopted, was the establishment at Luzerna, Pinerolo, and Perrier, of *Monts de Piété*, to which the distressed Vaudois eagerly resorted. Confiscations, the continuous billeting of troops upon them, for the last few years, deficient harvests, and several tremendous conflagrations, had gradually reduced the Vaudois to the last stage of penury. These establishments supplied the wretched population with corn, clothing, money, on the security of their houses, furniture, land : when a Vaudois was known to have in this way pledged his last resource, to save his family from famine, the propagandists would come to him, offering full and free restitution of all

he had pledged, and quittance for the amount borrowed, on condition of his entering the Romish church; or they would have him first thrown into prison for the debt, and then assail him with their treacherous proposals. These means were effective with a few, but the work was found to proceed too slowly.

The marchioness di Pianeza died: when she had given up all hopes of this world, she bethought herself of her husband, whom she had not seen for many years: she sent for him, and said—"I have much to expiate, as towards man and towards yourself; my soul is in danger; aid me to save it, by labouring for the conversion of the Vaudois." The husband gave the promise required: and, as a soldier, sought to fulfil it by soldierly means—by fire and sword. He had a further reason for obeying: his wife left him considerable sums, to be received by him only on the condition of obedience.

It only remained to create a pretext for violence, and this was not difficult to devise. The monastery of Villaro had been destroyed by fire in 1653, and the Vaudois had been charged as the incendiaries. At all events, they had been compelled, in the following year, to rebuild the edifice, so that this matter had nothing to do, as has been alleged, with the persecutions of 1655. Some other ground had to be sought. The curé of Fenile had been assassinated; the assassin being arrested, the propagandists promised him a free pardon, if he would make a public confession that he had killed the priest at the instigation of the Vaudois, and, in especial, of Leger, then pastor of San Giovanni. Berru, who had not shrunk from crime involving capital punishment—he had committed two other murders besides that of the curé—did not shrink from a perjury that was to save his life; and upon the denunciation of this reprobate, the pastor of San Giovanni was, without trial, without even citation, condemned to death as instigator of the assassination, while the real murderer was set at liberty.

Just at this time, the troops of Louis XIV., which had been succouring the duke of Modena, were on their return home through the valleys, and it was at once resolved to canton them among the Vaudois, so that they might be ready at hand to aid the persecution.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MASSACRES OF 1655.

THE various provincial councils *de extirpandis hæreticis* addressed to the metropolitan council at Turin incessant complaints against the Vaudois, and these complaints were as incessantly laid before the duke by the archbishop of Turin and the ministers of state, all of whom were members of the propaganda. It was not until January, 1655, however, that Charles-Emanuel, a prince of clement and amiable character, would take any measures in the matter, and he then merely consented to order Gastaldo to carry into effect the edict of May, 1650, for restricting the limits of his Vaudois subjects. The military operations which ensued are not chargeable against the memory of this prince, who, alike with the Vaudois themselves, was made the dupe of the insidious machinations of the propagandists. The Vaudois fell in thousands, victims of systematic and cruel carnage, and the duke found himself put under the ban of the civilized princes of Europe by reason of that carnage; yet the sole cause of all this was Rome—barbarous, persecuting Rome.

On 25th January, 1655, Gastaldo issued an order that all the protestant families domiciled in the communes of Luzerna and Luzernella, Fenile, Campiglone, Bubiana, Bricherasio, San Segonzo, San Giovanni, and La Torre, should transport themselves into the valley and confines of Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, and Rorata, the only places in the valley in which his highness would tolerate their religion, and this in the space of three days, under pain of death and of confiscation of goods. They were, besides, directed to sell their lands in the said districts within twenty days. All those who would consent to catholicize were exempted from the decree. Further, it was ordered that the catholic worship should be celebrated in all the protestant communes, the Vaudois being prohibited, under heavy penalties, from in any way impeding or disturbing such celebration; and the pain of death was denounced against any person who should dissuade a protestant from turning catholic. This order directed that all the members of the families indicated should remove; but Gastaldo, at first, contented himself with

requiring the removal of the heads of these families. They obeyed, and retired to the upper portions of the valley, whence they addressed an earnest remonstrance to their prince, who, on his part, seemed well disposed to clemency, saying to count Christopher of Luzerna, who interceded for the remonstrants,—“I am willing they should remain at San Giovanni and La Torre, provided they will withdraw from the other localities nearer the plain; for their adversaries will not let me have any peace till they have got some such concession.” The propagandists, meanwhile, were not idle; they sent a statement to the duke that the Vaudois were in a state of revolt, and had already caused the curé of Fenile to be assassinated. In consequence, when the deputies from the Vaudois again presented themselves at the palace, they were not received, but were ordered to settle the matter with the council of the propaganda. The council, in their turn, refused to receive them, on the ground of their being protestants, and intimated that what they had to say, they must say by the mouth of a popish attorney. The popish attorney was sent; and then the council ordered that deputies must be appointed, competent to subscribe engagements in the name of the whole people. These deputies were sent; but their instructions bearing that they were to sign nothing in diminution of the privileges from time to time conceded to their constituents, the council refused to receive them, until they had procured unlimited powers. The month of March was occupied with the transmission of protocols, memorials, and supplications from the Vaudois to the duke and to the marquis di Pianezza, and with replies on the part of the latter, full of that tone of moderation which is so easily assumed by men of his cold, hard, calculating temperament. At length, in the beginning of April, 1655, a third Vaudois deputation, consisting of two delegates only, repaired to Turin, furnished with full powers, enabling them to accept whatever conditions his highness might be pleased to impose, provided only that their liberty of conscience was not assailed; in which case they were to request from the duke permission for the Vaudois to withdraw altogether from his states.

This was putting the question courageously and unambiguously, so that any answer given could not well be otherwise than also unambiguous. The marquis di Pianezza announced that he would give his answer on the 17th April. The deputies repaired to the palace at the appointed hour; they were told to

come at a later period of the day ; they returned—his excellency was still not visible ; they returned a third time, and were then directed to come next day but one. "What does this mean ?" asked the deputies, the one of the other, filled with impatience and anxiety. They soon learned what it meant.

On the 16th April, the day preceding that on which they had been directed to appear before the marquis, the marquis had quitted Turin, at nightfall, to join the troops who had been directed to await him on the road to the valleys ; and on the 17th, while the deputies, full of good faith and confidingness, were repairing to his palace at Turin, Pianezza, in whom Jesuitism had annihilated at once nobility of blood and soldierly honour, was on the threshold of their valleys, at the head of troops about to subject those valleys to devastation and death. These troops were numerous. Besides those already quartered in the valleys, there were the regiment of Grancey, commanded by Du Petit Bourg, which was quartered at Pinerolo ; the City regiment, commanded by Galeazzo ; the regiment of Chablais, commanded by the prince de Montafon ; and that of Saint-Damian, commanded by captain Saint-Damian ; the marquis de Pianezza acting as general-in-chief.

On the 17th April, he sent a messenger to La Torre, to order the Vaudois to provide for the entertainment of 800 foot and 300 horse, whom his royal highness had ordered to be quartered in their commune.

"How can his royal highness require us to lodge his soldiers in a place where his last edict has forbidden us ourselves to live?" asked the Vaudois.

"Then why are you here?" retorted the messenger.

"We are here for our affairs ; but we have removed our permanent habitation within the limits that have been prescribed to us."

The messenger returned. Towards evening, the marquis, after having passed, without resistance, the line of Bricherasio, Fenile, Campiglione, Bubiana, and San Giovanni, whence the Vaudois had withdrawn, arrived under the walls of La Torre, with the City and Damian regiments. It is readily conceivable that this concentration of troops in the valleys, the avowed designs of the propaganda, the high rank of its supporters, the general excitation of popular fanaticism, the warnings of their friends, the menaces of their enemies, had by this time clearly opened the eyes of the

Vaudois to the hostile intentions of the popish party, though they knew not to what extent they had to keep on their guard, or how far they were to trust their sovereign, for the deputies whom they had sent to Turin had not returned. What were they to do? They had prayed to God for counsel, they had advised with their pastors, they had written to Geneva for instruction; the general voice told them to defend themselves; but the uncertainty of their position precluded them from concerting any definite plan. They saw clouds gathering, but they could not imagine the malignity of the tempest that was about to pour down upon them. Had they done so, all hesitation would have disappeared, and the energy of their combined resistance would have been co-equal with their violated rights. In this state of ignorance and indecision, wishing to obey their sovereign and quarter his troops, yet uneasy at seeing in command of those troops one of the chiefs of that propaganda which had vowed their destruction, not venturing either upon confiding compliance or upon determined resistance, they resorted merely to half measures, futile in this case as in all others. Gianavello alone, so early as February, foreseeing the terrible persecution about to befall his co-religionists, had collected together a small body of resolute men, with whom he was prepared to act energetically; but the rest of his countrymen then regarded his proceedings as too distrustful—too violent!

The marquis di Pianeza had arrived under the walls of La Torre at ten o'clock on the night of Saturday, 17th April; his whole army encamped on the plain which extends from Les Appiots to Pra-la-Fera and Les Eyrals. The general-in-chief called upon the Vaudois to entertain his troops; the people in the town, in number not more than 300 or 400, replied that it was impossible for them to provide entertainment for such an army; that there was nothing prepared, and that they must be permitted time for considering the matter. All delay was refused; and the townspeople were ordered forthwith to receive the troops, who would otherwise take forcible possession of the place. Thereupon the Vaudois entrenched themselves behind the barricade which they had hastily constructed at the entrance to their town, opposite the bridge of Angrogna. The marquis di Pianeza attacked this bastion; but the besieged resisted so valiantly, that after three hours' fighting, the enemy had made no progress. But about one in the morning, count Amadeus of

Luzerna, who was acquainted with the locality, put himself at the head of the City regiment, and while the other popish troops continued to engage the attention of the besieged, turned the town by the Pelice, advanced silently through the meadows and orchards, and then, entering La Torre by the Strada dei Bruni, attacked the Vaudois in the rear. The latter at once faced about, pierced the ranks of the new-comers, and made good their retreat to the hills, having, in the whole engagement, lost only three men. It was now two o'clock in the morning: the catholics, masters of the town, repaired in a body to the church of the mission, where they chanted a *Te Deum*, amid vehement vociferations of *Long live the holy Roman church! Hurrah for the holy faith! Down with the Barbetti!* At five o'clock in the morning, the marquis di Pianezza entered the town, "with all his nobility," and took up his quarters in the house of the mission.

It was now Sunday morning—the morning of Palm Sunday, the opening of Holy Week, and the spirit of antichrist burned to signalize this christian festival by a grand massacre of christians. That very Sunday, accordingly, immediately after mass, a body of catholic soldiers, under the command of Mario di Bagnolo, departed, by way of diversion, or of appropriate preparation for the coming festival, on a "heretic hunt," that is to say, to shoot all the Vaudois they could find, and burn their houses. In the evening, fresh troops arrived at La Torre, and by Monday, 19th April, the army consisted of not fewer than 15,000 men. There was no longer any room for doubt: that ancient project, the extermination of the Vaudois, so maturely prepared and so unhesitatingly avowed by the more zealous partisans of the Romish church, was now, at length, to be effectually executed, and thus did popery design to celebrate the Easter of 1655.

The Vaudois, beholding, from the heights between Angrogna and Tagliaretto, devastation and conflagration extending over the plain, put themselves on the defensive, placing sentinels at the advanced points, and small bodies of their militia in the more important passes. But they were poorly armed and inadequately organized, for they had formed no conception of the extent of the perfidy to which they were to be subjected. On the 19th, the troops of the marquis attacked these poor mountaineers simultaneously on the heights of San Giovanni, of La Torre, of Angrogna, and of Bricherasio. The Vaudois contented themselves

with defending their posts. They were one against a hundred, but a powerful support sustained them—confidence in God. All the attacks upon them failed: the enemy could not drive them from any one of their entrenchments. The campaign, then, ultimately so disastrous to them, opened with a victory in their favour.

On the 20th (Tuesday), two attacks only were essayed, one upon the Vaudois of San Giovanni, entrenched at Castello, the other upon the protestants of Tagliaretto. Both resulted in favour of the assailed. The former was repulsed with marked success by Captain Grayero; the latter was equally fatal to the assailants, for the Vaudois lost only two men, while of the enemy fifty were killed. Leger, who relates these details, took part in this engagement.

The marquis di Pianeza, finding the large army he commanded thus unavailing against determined resistance occupying advantageous positions, had recourse to a means which, but too often successful against the Vaudois, because they were ignorant of its use, has ever been effectual with the Romish church, much of whose power is based on its exercise: he had recourse to perfidy. On the morning of the 21st, two hours before daybreak, he announced, by sound of trumpet, at each of the Vaudois entrenchments, that he was ready to receive deputies, with whom to treat for an accommodation, in the name of the duke of Savoy.

Deputies from all the communes of the valley waited upon him accordingly; he received them with infinite urbanity, entertained them at dinner, and conversed with them for a considerable time. He assured them of the most friendly views towards them, said that the order issued by Gastaldo, on the 25th of January, referred only to the inhabitants of the lower valleys, whom it was deemed expedient to remove into the mountains, but that the communes of the upper valley had absolutely nothing whatever to apprehend. He expressed the utmost regret for the excesses which had been committed by his soldiers, and, imputing them to the difficulty of enforcing discipline upon so large a body of troops, insidiously took the occasion to say that it was for the very purpose of effecting a better command over them that he wished to distribute them; then, representing to the deputies the personal favour they would confer upon their sovereign by receiving, for a while, each commune a single regiment, he expressed his conviction that the duke, touched with so great a mark of

confidence, would be induced to recall the decree which affected the Vaudois of the plain.

The deluded deputies promised their best assistance, and, accordingly, despite the energetic opposition of Gianavello and Leger, the communes consented to receive the troops of the marquis di Pianezza. That very evening they took possession of all the roads, installed themselves in the villages and houses, and, regardless of the order given them to behave with caution, did not even await the morning to massacre several of the heretics.

Their impatience betrayed them. In their eagerness to secure the strong positions in the mountains, while two regiments took the ordinary road to Villaro and Bobbio, and a third that of Angrogna, a special detachment began the ascent of Campo La Rama and of Costa Rossina, in order to arrive the more speedily at Pra-del-Tor. This detachment, on its way, set fire to the scattered village of Tagliaretto; the smoke of the burning houses was seen, the cries of the fugitives and the shouts of their pursuers were heard, on the hill of Rorata, where a signal of distress was immediately lighted, and almost as immediately perceived from the heights of Angrogna, whither most of the inhabitants of the plains, expelled from Bubiana, Campiglione, &c., by the order of Gastaldo, had taken refuge. The inhabitants of Angrogna, thus aroused, saw, in their turn, the approach towards them of the invading detachment, which, on its way to Pra-del-Tor, was triumphantly descending the opposite hill. On the other side, towards Le Porte d'Angrogna and La Pausa dei Morti, was seen advancing the regiment of Grancey. Thereupon the people of Angrogna lighted also their signal fires; and cries of—*To Perosa! To Perosa! To La Vachera! Treachery!* and so on, spread, like electric flames, along the mountain slopes, whence all the men capable of bearing arms hastily withdrew to the heights of La Vachera, and thence, by the valley of Pramol, to those of Perosa and Pragela, which at that period belonged to France.

At Bobbio the alarm was raised less promptly, for the regiments of Bagnolo and of Petit Bourg, the former of which was to be quartered at Bobbio, and the other at Villaro, arrived quietly by the ordinary road. Some apprehensions were, indeed, awakened when it was found that the soldiers, instead of confining themselves to Bobbio, extended their occupation to Sarcena and Villanova; but still the officers declared their resolu-

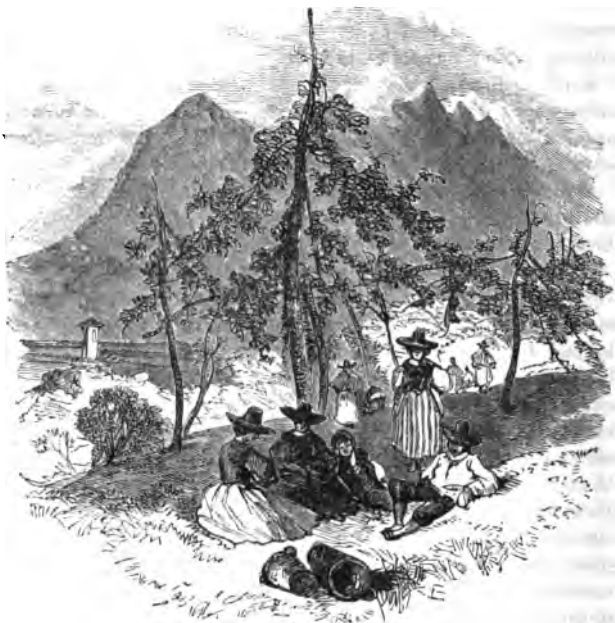
tion to maintain the strictest discipline, and the isolated murders which had been perpetrated by the soldiers on the way had not, as yet, reached the knowledge of the Vaudois.

At Angrogna even, where they found only a few women, children, and old men, feeble guardians of the deserted village, the soldiers abstained, at first, from any excess. Di Pianeza contented himself, apparently, with taking up merely his temporary abode there, in order to refresh himself and his men for a few days; and meanwhile, sought to gain the confidence of the Vaudois children and women, whom he urged to recall their fathers and husbands, on the assurance that no evil was designed them. Some few returned accordingly: woe to them! *Non servanda fides hæreticis*, said the council of Constance: *Ad extirpandos hæreticos*, cried the propaganda. In a day or two, the length and breadth of the valley, its villages, its houses, its roads, and its rocks, were occupied by the assassins in the pay of the propaganda; and now these assassins were called upon to do their work. On Saturday, 24th April, 1655, at four o'clock in the morning, the signal for a general massacre of the Vaudois was given to the traitorous troops, from the tower of the castle of La Torre. The soldiers, forewarned, had risen early, fresh with the sleep they had enjoyed under the roofs of those they were about to slaughter. The men whom, under the solemn engagement of security and protection, the Vaudois had fed and housed, were now on foot, throughout the valley, converted, by the arts of Rome, from brave soldiers into cowardly assassins.

To give an adequate idea of the horrors that ensued, one's eye must, at a single glance, comprehend the entire valley, take in each house, each room, view every act of death and torment, distinguish, amid the immense voice of aggregate anguish and desolation, each particular cry of destroyed honour, of parting existence. Literally, indeed, did the unhappy Vaudois suffer the things of which the apostle speaks: "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." Young children, writes Leger, were torn from their mothers' arms, dashed against the rocks, and their mangled remains cast on the road. Sick persons and old people, men and women, were burned alive in their houses,

or hacked in pieces, or mutilated in horrible ways, or flayed alive, or exposed bound and dying to the sun's noontide heat, or to ferocious animals; some were stripped naked, bound up in the form of a ball, the head forced down between the legs, and then rolled over precipices; some of these poor creatures, torn and mangled by the rocks, but stayed in their downward progress by the branch of a tree, or other prominence, were seen, forty-eight hours after, still lingering in all the torments of pain and famine.

Women and girls, after being fearfully outraged, were impaled on pikes, and so left to die, planted at angles of the road; or they were buried alive; or, impaled as above, they were roasted before a slow fire, and their burning bodies cut in slices, by these *soldiers of the faith*, as by cannibals. After the massacre, such children as survived, and could be seized, were carried off, and cast, like lambs into a slaughter-house, into the monasteries and convents and private abodes of the propagandists. Next, after massacre and abduction, came incendiarism: monks and priests, and other zealous propagandists, went about with lighted torches and projectiles, burning down the houses, previously ensanguined by the soldiers with the blood of their owners and their families. The terrible narrative given by Leger of these atrocities, was prepared by him from the testimony of eye-witnesses, who gave their depositions before two notaries, who accompanied him from commune to commune for that purpose. The pen, he says, well-nigh fell from his hand, as he transcribed the horrible details. Here, a father had seen his children cut in pieces by the sword, or absolutely torn limb from limb by four soldiers; there the mother had seen her daughter cruelly massacred before her face, after having been as cruelly outraged; there the sister had seen her brother's mouth filled with gunpowder, and the head then blown to atoms; there the husband had seen his wife, about to become a mother, treated in a manner which it would outrage humanity to describe. Of these, the eyes were torn from the head; of those, the nails from the fingers; some were tied to trees, their heart and lungs were cut from them, and they were thus left to die in anguish. The universal conflagration of the Vaudois houses succeeded the massacre of their inhabitants. In several communes, not a single cottage was left standing; so that this fair valley of Luzerna, as Leger expresses it, resembled a burning furnace, whence cries, fewer and fainter, attested that a people had lived.



SCENE IN THE VALLEY OF LUZERNA.

All these victims might have lived, had they consented to abjure their faith. Some who were saved from immediate death, were thrown into prison, and there subjected to continuous torturings to compel them to apostasy. James and David Prins, of Baudena, near Villaro, were taken to the prison of Luzerna, and there, having resisted the utmost solicitations of the priests, their arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, were first flayed in strips, which, the upper end remaining uncut, floated on the living flesh beneath; then, the arms, from the elbow to the hand, were flayed in like manner; then the thighs to the knee, and then the legs, from the knees to the soles of the feet; and in this condition they were left to die. These Prins were two of a family of six brothers, who, having married six sisters, lived with their families altogether on one farm, having no separation of goods, but each having his particular task; some in the vineyards,

some in the corn-fields, some in the cattle-yard; and all the forty persons of whom this combined family consisted, living together without the least discord, the eldest brother and sister being, as it were, father and mother to the rest. Yet these scenes, so patriarchal, so pure, so touching, so simple, so christian, were made a prey to the demon of popery, cruel in its superstition beyond the cruelty of the most barbarous savages.

A farm-servant of Bobbio, refusing to apostatize, had the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet pierced with dagger thrusts; he was then barbarously mutilated, and suspended over a fire, in order that the flame might stay the effusion of blood. Next, his nails were torn from his fingers with pincers; and as he still adhered to his religion, he was then tied by the feet to the tail of a mule, and so dragged through the streets of Luzerna. Seeing him now at the point of death, his executioners tied a cord so tight round his head that the eyes and the brain were forced out; and the mangled carcase was then thrown into the river. From the bell-tower of the catholic church of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois issued the signal of the massacre of St. Bartholomew! From the cathedral of Palermo was announced the Sicilian vespers! From the tower of St. Mary, in the castle of La Torre, glared the fire that lit up the Piedmontese Easter. Oh, Mary! mother of the Saviour! if any sword pierce thy breast, it is that of the church which pretends to honour thee the most; the church which, calling thee queen of the angels, represents thee to the world as queen of the demons.

So monstrous were the cruelties with which the work of extermination was accompanied, that several even of the officers who had been appointed to execute it were struck with horror, and resigned their commands, rather than fulfil their orders. In consequence of the general indignation expressed by the protestant states of Europe, upon receiving intelligence of the massacre, the duke of Savoy thought it expedient to publish a statement of the transaction. This narrative, printed in Italian, French, and Latin, under the title of *The Factum of the Court of Savoy*, though it endeavoured to make out a favourable case for the duke's government, and charged the Vaudois with bringing all the mischief upon themselves, yet acknowledged quite enough to show that the atrocities complained of had really been perpetrated. Like most productions of the kind, this *Factum* essayed to prove too much:—

"He who commanded the said regiment," says the Factum, "was the signor du Petit Bourg, a professor of the pretended reformed religion, as was the adjutant, who caused all the orders that were given to be put in execution. Now the marquis di Pianeza gave command to him, and recommended to his especial care, to see that the people of Angrogna should be treated in the mildest manner possible. This signor du Petit Bourg hath the reputation of a person of so much honour, that there is no doubt he will speedily attest the truth hereof, and that he will never say he received any order to the contrary." Du Petit Bourg, however, made a very different attestation to what was required of him.

"I, the signor du Petit Bourg, first captain of the regiment of Gransè, and commander of the same, having received instructions from prince Thomas, to go and join the marquis di Pianeza, and to act under his orders, which marquis was then at La Torre, just as I was ready to set out, the ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to M. di Pianeza, and to use my efforts to accommodate the troubles which were then existing in the protestant valleys of Piedmont: in order whereunto I did then address myself to the said marquis, and entreated him, with great earnestness, that he would permit me to undertake the said accommodation, which I supposed I should be able to effect. But he refused this my request, notwithstanding the endeavours I used to persuade him, and instead of the least mitigation of affairs, that this or any other consideration was likely to produce, I was witness to many great violences and cruelties exercised by the banditti and soldiers of Piemont, upon all of every age, sex, and condition, whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, hung up, and ravished, with many horrid circumstances of barbarity. And so far is it from truth that, this was done by virtue of orders issued by me, (as it is falsely alleged in a certain relation printed in French and Italian,) that I beheld the same with horror and regret. And whereas it is said, in the same relation, that the marquis di Pianeza commanded me to treat them leniently, and in the best manner I could, the event clearly demonstrated that the orders he gave were quite contrary: and it is certain, that without any distinction of those who did or did not resist, they were treated with every kind of inhumanity, their houses were burnt, and their goods were plundered, and when prisoners were brought

before the marquis, I saw him give orders to grant them no quarter at all, '*Because,*' said he, '*his highness is resolved to have none of this religion in any of his dominions.*' And as for what he protests in the same declaration, namely, that there was no injury done to any, except during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any lunatic or idiot, I will assert, and do maintain, that it was not so, having seen, with mine own eyes, several men killed in cold blood, and even women, aged persons, and young children miserably murdered. With regard to the manner in which they made themselves masters of Angrogna, to pillage and burn the same, they did it easily enough, for excepting six or seven who made opposition, seeing there could be no more mercy shown, the peasants thought more of flying than fighting the enemy. In short, I absolutely affirm, and protest, before God, that none of those cruelties above-mentioned were executed by my order; but, on the contrary, seeing that I could effect no mitigation, I was forced to retire, and quit the command of the regiment, for fear of being present at more such iniquitous actions,

"Done at Pinerolo, 25th Nov. 1655.

(Signed)

Du PETIT BOURG."

"We whose names are here subscribed, captains of the regiments of infantry of Sault and Auvergne, do, under our hands, acknowledge to have seen the present declaration made by the signor du Petit Bourg, captain of the regiment of infantry of Gransè, in the city of Pinerolo, and by him written and signed by his own hand, in our presence; in witness whereof we have signed this present attestation at Pinerolo, this 25th of November, 1655.

"S. HILAIRE, Captain of Auvergne.
DU FAURE, Captain."

CHAPTER XXII.

GIANAVELLO AND GIAHERI.

WE have mentioned that the Vaudois of Angrogna and the fugitives from the plain of Piedmont had, for the most part, retired to the valley of Perosa. Those of San Martino, forewarned by a benevolent catholic of the approach of the marquis Galeazzo, with orders to put everything to fire and sword, had hastened to the valley of Pragela, while such of the inhabitants of Bobbio as had escaped the massacre had made their way to Queyras, over the rocks and snows; all these places of refuge being then under the rule of the king of France.

In the hope of excluding the Vaudois from this hospitable country, the duchess of Savoy, who seems to have taken a far more active share than her son in these calamitous events, wrote to the court of France in order that the Vaudois might be restricted within their own valleys and there massacred; but Mazarin replied that humanity prescribed to him the duty of affording an asylum to the fugitives.

This concession enabled the latter to rally, to arm, and to organize themselves, with every prospect of returning to their native country more numerous than they had left it, for in these retreats many of their co-religionists from Queyras and Pragela joined them. Meantime, an energetic and able man, sustained, doubtless, by the hand of God (in whom none had ever a more absolute and unquestioning confidence than had this intrepid warrior), Captain Joshua Gianavello, who alone had foreseen the contemplated treachery, kept the hostile army in check, and by degrees drove it from the valleys.

It will be remembered that the 24th of April was the day fixed for the general massacre of the Vaudois; troops had accordingly been quartered in all the larger villages and towns, excepting Rora, which, however, it was by no means designed to spare. On the morning of the day of extermination, the marquis of Saint-Damian had despatched from Villaro, to surprise Rora, a battalion of 500 or 600 soldiers, under the command of count Christopher of Luzerna, who was called count of Rora, that village being his appanage. These soldiers had crossed the river,



BRIDGE OF VILLAR.

and were ascending the little hill of Rumer, when Gianavello, who lived at the foot of an extension of the mountain toward Luzerna, saw the soldiers approaching the menaced village. He at once hastened to ascend the hill by a different route, and collecting on his way six men, determined as himself, and excellent marksmen, posted them advantageously, and long before the troops expected, if at all, to be received by an armed force, and even before they deemed it requisite to form in any regular order, they were received by a fire of musketry from front, and right and left, so surely directed that seven soldiers fell dead; their comrades retrograded, and those in the rear, imagining there was a numerous ambush at hand, turned round, so that the vanguard were separated from the main body. The Vaudois, concealed amid the rocks, which rendered it impracticable for the enemy to ascertain their real number, fired discharge after discharge, until the vanguard, in utter confusion, and with half their number slain, also turned and hastened up the hill they had just turned. The rear, which had scarcely attained the summit, seeing the van returning, themselves hastened back at utmost speed, without even waiting to see the assailants, and all fled together towards Villaro; on their way, they had to traverse a wood, which lies between the mountains and the Pelice. Gianavello and his men pursued, but in such a manner as still to keep out of sight; and, concealed, as they advanced, by the trees and shrubs, poured a murderous fire upon the fugitives.

On his return to Rora, Gianavello informed the inhabitants of the peril which had menaced them. Ignorant of the massacres which, during the same day, had been perpetrated in the valley of Luzerna, the Rorans went to the marquis di Pianeza to complain of the aggression which had been essayed against them. He affected to disclaim the whole proceeding. "If any attempted to attack you," said he, "it was not by my orders; the troops under my command would never commit such an outrage. It must have been some party of brigands or Piedmontese vagabonds, and I only wish you had cut them all in pieces. However, I will take care that no such thing shall occur again."

Non servanda fides hæreticis! On the very next morning, 500 soldiers were despatched to accomplish what the other detachment had failed in doing. Gianavello was again on foot; he had this time sixteen men with him, a small force, numerically, but, under his command, and in such a cause, equivalent to an

army. Of these seventeen men, eleven were fully armed, the rest had only slings. Gianavello disposed them in three parties, two slingers with each; the post he had selected was a defile, in which scarcely ten men could manœuvre. No sooner was the van of the popish detachment engaged in this defile, than the Vaudois fired; an officer and ten men fell beneath the discharge, which was immediately followed up by a vigorous volley of stones from the slings; disorder at once arose in the enemy's ranks, and, at the cry, *All is lost! save yourselves!* the entire troop turned round, and commenced a precipitate flight. Gianavello and his men pursued them, leaping from rock to rock like panthers, virtually, by their agility, their vigour, and their intrepidity, so multiplying their numbers, that the enemy had no idea but that they were a large force, while their position behind the brushwood and the rocks enabled them to take that deadly aim, which, with the enemy, was quite impracticable; so that no fewer than fifty-two of the soldiers were slain ere they made good their retreat to the plain of Luzerna.

The marquis di Pianeza, thus again frustrated in his projects, sent count Christopher to Rora, to assure the inhabitants of his friendly intentions towards them, and that the advance of the troops against their valley had been the result of a misunderstanding. Certain representations, he said, had been made against them, the falsity of which had been since fully ascertained; and they had now nothing further to fear. He then proceeded to assemble a battalion more numerous than either of the previous, fully resolved at length to accomplish his purpose. It would seem as surprising that the Vaudois should permit themselves to be deceived by such assurances, as that a gentleman should make them, were it not that the former, as protestants, regarded lying a sin, whereas the latter, as a propagandist, deemed it a virtue.

Next day, the 27th of April, a whole regiment made a rapid march upon Rora, occupied the approaches, and then, finding the inhabitants fled, plundered and burned the houses, and set out on their return with their booty, driving before them all the herds of the Rorans, who had themselves taken refuge in Monte Friolante. Gianavello, with his men, had seen the advance of the enemy, but their numbers had rendered it futile for him to assail them on their way. When, however, he perceived them returning, laden with booty and encumbered with the herds they

were driving before them, he encouraged his sixteen companions, and, after an earnest supplication to Almighty God, hastened to occupy an advantageous position at a place called Damassero. Hence, as the first ranks of the enemy appeared, they were assailed with a fatal discharge: unknowing what might be the numbers of the assailing force, and unwilling to abandon their booty, the soldiers, upon witnessing the fall of their comrades, turned about, and drew off towards Villaro. The Vaudois, better acquainted with the locality than were the foreigners, took a bye-path, which led them past the enemy, to a place called Pian-Pra, a commanding post near the summit of the mountain that separates Bora from Villaro. Presently the hostile army made its appearance, advancing slowly with its booty, and in complete disorder, for its adversaries had disappeared, and it fancied that it would meet with no further obstruction.

Suddenly, a discharge, point blank, prostrated fourteen or fifteen of its numbers. The soldiers, instead of seeking to defend themselves, hurried on their march with their booty. They were now on the slope of the mountain, and, availing themselves of this circumstance, Gianavello's party rolled down an avalanche of great stones upon them. As they were hurrying aside to avoid this storm, the Vaudois with fierce shouts dashed down upon them; this completed their confusion, and, leaving their booty behind them, they fled, each man for himself. The great bulk of the regiment reached Villaro, but many remained behind, slain on the ascent, or hurled from the precipices. On regaining the Pian-Pra, Gianavello called upon his men to halt. "Let us," he said, "return thanks." The whole party knelt. "O Lord God," exclaimed their intrepid leader, "we bless thee for having preserved us! Protect our people in these calamities, and increase in us thy faith!" This brief address was followed by the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostle's Creed, and the Vaudois then rising, sought their families in their mountain retreat.

The marquis di Pianeza, frantic with rage and shame at hearing of this new check, commanded that a simultaneous attack should be made upon the Vaudois by all the royal forces from Bagnolo, Cavour, Barges, Bubiana, and Villaro. All these were to assemble on a given day and hour at Luzerna; but the ardent slaughterer of Bobbio, Mario di Bagnolo, resolved to appropriate the entire glory of destroying the "miserable handful of adventurers," as the heroic mountaineers who so valiantly defended

their faith and their families were designated, marched to the attack two hours in advance of the other troops. He had with him three companies of regulars, one of Piedmontese volunteers, and a brigade of Irish, who, banished by Cromwell from their own country for the cruelties exercised by them on their protestant countrymen, had been welcomed as brothers by the massacres of the Vaudois. These worthies, to encourage their zeal, had been promised the gratuitous cession of the lands depopulated of the Vaudois whom they should kill, so that fanaticism and self-interest, the two most potent incentives to courage, urged them on.

Captain Mario arranged his troops in two squadrons, one of which took the right side, the other the left, of the valley of Rora. He reached, without resistance, the rocks of Rumer, signalized, four days previously, by the first victory of Gianavello, and in which that chieftain had again entrenched himself, his little troop being now augmented to the number of thirty or forty men. But the right wing of the count di Bagnolo, having advanced along the heights, were above the rocks of Rumer, and, suddenly showing themselves, menaced the Vaudois with an attack in the rear, while the other wing of the enemy assailed them in the van. Gianavello, with that promptitude of decision and that energy of action which characterize military genius, at once saw what course to adopt, and at once adopted it. *To the summit!* he cried; and, turning about, he left the troops below to pursue their slow and toilsome ascent, while himself and his men, taking steady aim at the troops above, who were just turning the point of the hill, and had not yet had time to form, fired a deadly volley, and then instantly throwing themselves flat on their faces, avoided the discharge which the enemy returned. Amid the smoke of that discharge, the Vaudois then turned suddenly to the right, and, sword in hand, cut their way through the left wing of the assailants, weakened in number by the concentration which the fire of the Vaudois had just attracted in the opposite direction. In a few moments, they were on the summit which Gianavello had indicated to them, and there, dominating the enemy, they posted themselves amongst the rocks, and, strong in the triple energy of a just cause, confidence in their God, and recent success, they intrepidly faced the foe. It was to no purpose that the two detachments, now combined, advanced to assail them: they could not get beyond a certain

point; for there the semicircle which they formed, with each surging movement onward, found its first ranks prostrated by the unerring fire of the practised marksmen above, themselves protected from harm by their position. As the snow melts away from the hill-side under the fire of the sun, so did these troops melt away under the fire of the Vaudois, till at length, their heads growing confused at this so unexpected result, a panic seized them, they turned, and fled, leaving sixty-five of their number dead on the spot, besides the wounded and the dead whom they carried off with them. The Vaudois wished to pursue them along the valley, but Gianavello, with sounder judgment, hastening along the heights, passed the fugitives below, and awaited them, with his invincible fusiliers, at a narrow pass called Pierro Capillo. By and bye, the soldiers came slowly on, taking breath after their flight, and observing no order, in the supposition that their foes had departed. All at once, a fresh discharge of fatal musketry assailed them; heavy rocks rolled down upon them; and then, with vehement shouts, a body of men, whose numbers amid the rocks and brushwood they could not count, precipitated themselves, sword and pistol in hand, upon them. Resistance was not even attempted: a panic terror, or rather the fear of the God of Jacob, seized upon these utterly amazed troops, so that, instead of fleeing, as best they might, along the road before them, they threw themselves over the rocks and precipices, or essayed to let themselves down by ropes and roots, so that most of their number perished, either drowned in the torrent below, or dashed against the rocks, or slain by the lead and the steel of their adversaries. Their leader himself, with difficulty extricated from a deep pool, was conveyed, wounded, bruised, and half-naked, to Luzerna, where he died a few days afterwards.

So great was the exasperation of the marquis di Pianeza, that he assembled all the disposable troops under his command, and actually marched 10,000 men against the little commune of Rora, defended with such perseverance by a handful of mountaineers. This was in the commencement of May, 1655. Three thousand soldiers advanced from Bagnolo, three thousand from Villaro, and six thousand from Luzerna, to assail, with a combined effort, a little village of fifty houses, already half burned down.

The battalion coming from Villaro arrived first. Gianavello attacked it from the heights; but meanwhile the other troops

occupied the lower portion of the valley, pillaged the village, burned the buildings, committed the most monstrous outrages, and carried off as prisoners such of the wretched inhabitants as had not perished in the attack. The position had become untenable; Gianavello had nothing now to defend; Rora was destroyed, its inhabitants killed or captives: he retired with his heroic cohort to the valley of Luzerna.

The next day he received from the marquis di Pianeza, a letter in the following terms: "To captain Gianavello. Your wife and daughters are in my hands, having been made prisoners at Rora. I exhort you, for the last time, to abjure your heresy, as the only means of securing from his royal highness pardon for your rebellion, and of saving your wife and daughters, who will be burned alive if you do not surrender. As to yourself, if you persist in your obstinacy, I shall not trouble myself to send any more troops after you, but simply put such a price upon your head as, had you the devil himself in you, would ensure your being taken, dead or alive; and if you fall alive into my hands, be sure there are no torments so cruel but that you shall undergo them. This letter is for your guidance; I advise you to profit by it." This was Gianavello's reply: "There is no torment so cruel that I should not prefer it to the abjuration of my faith; and your menaces, instead of deterring me from, fortify me still more firmly in, that faith. As to my wife and children, they well know how dear they are to me; but God alone is master of their lives, and if you make their bodies perish, he will save their souls. May he receive them into his grace; them and me, if it befall me to come into your hands."

A price was immediately set upon the head of the heroic mountaineer.

A son was left to him, a young boy, who had been entrusted to the charge of a relative at Villaro. Fearing that he too might be made a prisoner, the intrepid father conveyed the child across the Alps into Dauphiny, where he left him in the care of a friend. Then, after giving a few days' rest to his devoted band, and recruiting its numbers from among the Vaudois of Dauphiny, he returned to the valleys, and, stronger, more formidable, and more feared than ever, resumed hostilities against the enemies of his faith and of his people.

Meanwhile the moderator of the Vaudois churches, Leger, had repaired to Paris, where he had printed a manifesto, ad-

dressed to all the protestant powers of Europe, in reply to which, expressions of the most vivid sympathy and the most active interest came from all directions. No foreign power took so energetic and spirited a part in behalf of the Vaudois at this fatal crisis, as England. Cromwell, immediately that he was informed of what was going on in the valleys, addressed a Latin letter, the composition of Milton,* and of which the following is a translation, to the duke of Savoy:—

“ Most serene Prince,

“ We are informed by letters received from several places in the vicinity of your dominions, that the subjects of your royal highness, professing the reformed religion, have been commanded by an edict, published by your authority, to quit their habitations and lands, within three days after the promulgation of the said edict, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their property, unless they shall enter into an engagement to abjure their own, and to embrace the Roman-catholic faith, before the end of twenty days. We have learnt also, that, regardless of their humble petitions to your highness, praying that you would be pleased to revoke the said edict, and to grant the same privileges which were anciently conceded by your serene ancestors, your army fell upon them, cruelly slaughtered great numbers, imprisoned others, and drove the rest to fly for refuge to desolate places, and to mountains covered with snow, where hundreds of families are reduced to such extremity, that, it is to be feared, they will all shortly perish with cold and hunger. Upon receiving intelligence of the melancholy condition of this most oppressed people, it was impossible not to feel the greatest commiseration and grief; for we not only consider ourselves united to them by common ties of humanity, but by those of the same religion. Feeling, therefore, that we are invoked by the sacred voice of brotherly love, we declare that we should fail in our duty to ourselves, to God, to our brethren, and to the religion we profess, if we were not deeply moved by a sense of their calamities, and if we did not employ every means in our power to obtain an alleviation of their unparalleled sufferings. It is on this account that we most earnestly entreat, and conjure your highness, in the first place, to call to mind the enactments of your serene ancestors, and

The original, in the handwriting of the poet's second daughter, Mary, is preserved in the State Paper Office.

the concessions which they made and confirmed from time to time in favour of the Waldenses : which concessions were granted, no doubt, in obedience to the will of God, who desires that liberty of conscience should be the inviolable right of every man, and in consideration of the merits of these their subjects, who have ever been found valiant and faithful in war and obedient in time of peace. And as your serene highness has graciously and nobly trodden in the steps of your predecessors in all other things, we again and again beseech you, that you will not depart from them in this instance, but that you will revoke this edict, and any other that is oppressive to your subjects, in consequence of their professing the reformed religion ; that you will restore them to their paternal habitations and property ; that you will confirm their ancient rights and privileges ; that you will cause reparation to be made for their injuries ; and order an end to be put to all vexatious proceedings against them. If your highness will comply with this request, you will do what is most acceptable to God ; you will comfort and support the minds of those unhappy sufferers, and you will be conferring a favour upon the neighbouring protestant states, and especially upon us, who will ever consider such clemency as the effect of our intercession ; which will constrain us to do every kind office in return, and will be the means not only of strengthening, but of renewing and increasing the relations and friendship which have subsisted between this commonwealth and your dominions. Promising ourselves much from your justice and moderation, we heartily pray God to direct your mind and thoughts, and so to grant you and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and to prosper all your undertakings.

“ Given at our court at Westminster, the 25th day of May, 1655.

“ OLIVER, PROTECTOR.”

On the other hand, the court of Savoy, or rather the duchess, under the influence of the propaganda and of the pontifical nuncio, pursued with vigour the great aim of the papists, the expulsion or extermination of the evangelical worshippers of the valleys. From Mazarin, who had refused to deny the Vaudois a refuge in France, a promise was obtained, that, at all events, no Frenchmen should aid the Vaudois in their valleys.

The captain of the Swiss guards of the duke of Savoy, a

native of Glaris, in which canton there were a number of catholic families dissatisfied with living in a protestant country, proposed to Charles-Emanuel to exchange these families for an equal number of protestant families from the valleys. Cromwell, on his part, offered to settle the Vaudois in Ireland, in place of the natives whom he had found it expedient to expel. But the reply of the moderator was more conformable with the interests of his own country: he supplicated the protector rather to send a plenipotentiary to Turin, to negotiate the re-establishment of the Vaudois in their valleys, than to remove them. The plenipotentiary sent in accordance with this request was Sir Samuel Morland, who performed a leading part in the pacification of this unhappy country, and who afterwards wrote a remarkable history of the events which had occurred there.

Most of the protestant powers added their representations to those of England in favour of the Vaudois, and celebrated fasts and made pecuniary collections in their interest, Cromwell taking the lead also in this matter. He had a narrative printed and dispersed through Britain, setting forth the distress of the Vaudois church, and recommending a general subscription. He himself set the example of liberality, by contributing 2000*l.* from the privy purse; and a sum was shortly raised amounting to not less than 38,241*l.*, of which, however, only 22,000*l.* reached the Vaudois, the remainder of the amount being appropriated to his own respectable purposes by Charles II. at the Restoration. Another measure of the protector was to address letters of urgent recommendation to the protestant sovereigns and states, that they should come forward in support of the protestant interest. To the king of Sweden he represented the noble conduct which his royal progenitors had pursued, when the reformed religion was menaced in Germany. In a strain of equal eloquence he explained to the king of Denmark the motives of policy which should induce all protestant princes to make a common cause with those who were defending such as were persecuted for the reformed faith. "We proclaim," said he, in a tone which was likely to fix the resolution of the wavering, "that we are prepared, in conjunction with your majesty, and our other allies of the reformed religion, to use every means in our power to relieve the wants, and secure the safety and liberty of the unhappy sufferers."

In a letter to the States-general, he reminded their high

mightinesses of the effectual struggles which they themselves had happily made in the adverse times of the protestant church in their own country, and declared his readiness to take any measures, in conjunction with them, for the preservation of the same faith in the valleys of Piedmont. The protector's negotiation with the king of France was still more honourable to his character, because he had the difficult undertaking of persuading one Roman-catholic prince to act against another. His first letter to his most christian majesty boldly touched upon a very delicate topic, and intimated that the troops of France had been concerned in the cruelties in Piedmont.

“Most serene king,

“The groans of those wretched men, the protestant inhabitants of Luzerna and Angrogna, and other Alpine valleys, within the dominions of the duke of Savoy, who were lately most cruelly murdered, and the lamentable tidings of the despoliation and the banishment of the survivors of this massacre, which have reached our ears, have constrained us to write this letter to your majesty: more particularly as it has been reported to us (with what truth has not yet been ascertained), that this carnage has been committed by some of your own troops, conjointly with those of the duke of Savoy. It is scarcely possible to believe that such proceedings have been resorted to, for they are neither consistent with the principles of good government, nor with those of your majesty's wise ancestors, who judged that they were best consulting their own interests, and the peace not only of their own kingdom, but of all christendom, by permitting their subjects of the reformed religion to live securely and quietly under their protecting sceptre: in return for which indulgence, those grateful men did often perform the most eminent services for their sovereigns, both in peace and war. The dukes of Savoy, in like manner, were wont to treat their subjects of the Alpine valleys with the same benignity; who, on their side, also displayed the most devoted loyalty, and never spared either their lives or their fortunes in the service of their princes. We feel confident, that your majesty's influence and authority with the duke of Savoy are such, that if you would only employ your mediation, and express your good wishes, you would obtain indemnity for these poor people, and their restoration to their country and former privileges. Such an act would not only be worthy of your

majesty, and of the wise example of your ancestors, but would re-assure your own subjects, who would then feel that they need entertain no fears on their own account; and it would conciliate your protestant confederates and allies, and bind them to your majesty by the strongest ties of respect and affection. With regard to ourselves, whatever indulgence shall be conceded to your own subjects of the reformed religion, or obtained by your intercession for the subjects of others, will be received not only with the same, but even with greater gratitude than we could express for any personal favour that we hope to derive from your majesty's friendship.

"Given at our court at Westminster, the 25th of May, 1655.

"OLIVER, PROTECTOR."

In a second letter, Cromwell gave the king of France to understand, that he expected him, not only to employ his mediation with the duke of Savoy, in behalf of the Vaudois, but to afford shelter and protection to such as should fly for refuge into the French dominions.

"Most serene and most potent king,

"I am happy to understand, from your majesty's letter in answer to mine of the 25th of May last, that I was not wrong in the opinion, that those most cruel murders, and barbarous massacre, committed by certain troops of yours upon the professors of the reformed religion in Savoy, had neither your command nor authority. I am also extremely rejoiced to find that your majesty has signified your strong disapprobation to your military commanders, who took upon themselves to perpetrate such atrocities without your orders; and that you have remonstrated with the duke of Savoy upon the subject of such monstrous cruelty, and have interposed your influence and good offices with so much humanity and earnestness, for the restoration of those unhappy exiles. I did hope that that prince would have conceded something to the intercession of your majesty; but since neither your mediation, nor that of the other sovereigns and states, has been of any avail in their favour, I have thought it my imperative duty to send an ambassador extraordinary to the duke, to give a full explanation of my sentiments, in regard to his excessive cruelty towards the professors of the same religion with ourselves, on no other account but their religion. And

in order to promote the success of this mission, I trust your majesty will be pleased to renew your remonstrances, and to give them greater weight than before: and as your majesty has already declared yourself responsible for the fidelity of these poor people to their prince, so you will now take upon yourself to guarantee their security and protection, that a repetition of such inhuman cruelty may not be inflicted upon them again. We cannot but expect this from your majesty, as being nothing but a just and royal proceeding, and perfectly consistent with the benignity and clemency with which you have watched over the safety and welfare of so many of your subjects who profess the same religion. By such an act you will conciliate the affections of all the protestants throughout your kingdom, who have given you so many proofs of their loyalty and attachment; and you will satisfy those of foreign nations, that you are not implicated in this iniquity, however much your ministers of state and commanders may be: more especially if your majesty will punish those ministers and commanders who have presumed, upon their own authority, and out of their own malignity, to commit such monstrous atrocities. In the mean time, since your majesty disavows this most inhuman and detestable policy, I am confident you will give shelter and protection to such of the distressed refugees as shall fly into your dominions for an asylum, and will not suffer any of your own subjects to assist the duke of Savoy against them. It remains for me to assure your majesty of the value I set upon your friendship, and of my readiness, at all times, to give proof of the sincerity of my respect.

“Given at our court at Westminster, July 31, 1655.”

In pursuance of this interposition, Louis XIV. ordered Lesdiguières to give a favourable reception to all fugitive Vaudois, and to assure them of his royal protection. In the valleys of Queyras and Pragela, belonging to France, men took up arms in support of their persecuted brethren. Many men deserted from the regular army for the same purpose; and at about this time Gianavello returned to the valleys with his re-invigorated and reinforced troop.

Captain Giaheri, a native of Pramolo, had retired to Val-Perosa, in the confines of France, with the inhabitants of Bubiana and Angrogna, fugitives under the decree of 22nd April. A month afterwards, he returned at the head of these exiles, supported by

their co-religionists of Pragela, and re-established them in the valleys of Angrogna and Pramolo. He then wrote to Gianavello to join him. The latter had, at first, taken a position on a lofty mountain, called L'Alpe de la Pelaya di Geymeto, whence he had essayed an attack upon Luzernella, a catholic village, half a league from Luzerna. Repulsed by numbers, he had effected a masterly retreat, in the course of which he received in the leg a bullet, which was never extracted. The wound, however, did not prevent him from pursuing his expeditions; and this attempt upon Luzernella, though in itself frustrated, had important results, for it gave a new aspect to that war of extermination in which, hitherto, the Vaudois had only acted on the defensive. Inexpressible terror now began to agitate the Piedmontese towns that lay nearest to the mountains; and each insisted upon having its entrenchments and its garrison. Some Irish troops, for example, were garrisoned at Bubiana, but they committed such excesses there, that the inhabitants were necessitated to expel them; and thus the persecutors began to destroy one another.

Giaheri effected his junction with Gianavello on the 27th May, on the banks of the Angrogna, and by this combination the two warriors became infinitely more formidable than ever. The first enterprise which they essayed in common was directed against Garsigliano, which they attempted to surprise that same evening; but troops hastening, at the sound of the tocsin, from all the adjacent villages, they were obliged to retire, carrying off with them only some cattle, and six yoke of oxen. Next morning, at day-break, having strengthened themselves by prayer, and feeling the urgency of some energetic demonstration, in order to save their country, they attacked the town of San Segonzo, and took it. To protect themselves, in the assault, from the fire of the enemy, the Vaudois rolled before them great bags full of hay, in which the bullets showered upon them from the walls buried themselves, without touching one of the besiegers. On reaching the foot of the entrenchments, they set fire to the hay, the smoke of which hid them from the townspeople while they were battering in the gates: these once thrown down, they rushed in impetuously, and, after effecting great slaughter, retired with a considerable booty. An entire Irish regiment, numbering from 700 to 800 men, was cut to pieces, with 650 Piedmontese troops: all such of the inhabitants as presented themselves unarmed were

spared, and only a portion of them taken away prisoners. The town was then burned.

It was a terrible execution ; but terrible as it was, it was expedient, in the essential necessity which the Vaudois felt, of making their strength appreciated by foes who had hitherto acted towards them as towards sheep, who were to permit themselves to be slaughtered unresistingly. Besides, the Vaudois valleys had been so cruelly devastated, the blood that had been shed cried out so loud, the irritation had become so profound, that, without attributing such reprisals to the mere spirit of vengeance, one may fairly regard them as a consequence—a necessity. They were useful, moreover, as forcibly impressing on the persecutors the fact that the persecuted were a people not altogether so despicable as had been affected. Men heed, it is said, only those they love, or those they fear : the Vaudois, sure of not being loved, were fain to make themselves feared. They effectually attained this object.

Already the taking of San Segonzo was worth the gain of a battle to them. They had made fourteen hundred enemies bite the dust, while the loss on their own side had been but seven men ; a fact which, incredible as it may seem, was not only a fact, but became immediately known as such, and diffused a panic terror of Gianavello and Giaheri through all the surrounding towns, which thereupon formed a league for their common defence, and arranged telegraphic signals, which, from the bell-towers, were to give warning of the approach, in any direction, of the Vaudois, and to indicate their position.

The population, who suffered at once from the interruption of trade, the maintenance of the troops, and the incursions of the Vaudois, were loud in their demands for peace.

The marquis de Pianezza endeavoured to get rid of his antagonists by setting a price upon the heads of their leaders ; but their numbers, so far from diminishing, were augmented daily by new recruits from Queyras and Pragela. By the 2nd June, they consisted of four companies, commanded respectively by Gianavello, Giaheri, Laurens, and Benet. In a council of war, these four captains resolved to attack Bricherasio. In order to execute this design, the four companies were to take different routes, so as not only to surprise the town, but also to check any succours that might advance towards it. Accordingly, Gianavello occupied the slopes of San Giovanni and La Tayarea, in order to

oppose the troops from La Torre and Luzerna; Laurens posted himself near Roccapiatta, to cut off the succours from San Segonzo, which had been partially rebuilt; while Giaheri, descending into the plain of Bricherasio, proceeded to devastate it on his way to the town itself: but the tocsin sounding, the garrisons of the adjacent towns hastened out in such numbers, as to cover Bricherasio, and to compel Giaheri to retrograde to the hills of San Giovanni, where Gianavello had kept in check the troops who had advanced in that direction, and who were now attacked with such impetuosity by the combined Vaudois forces, that they fled after a short resistance, leaving one hundred and fifty of their number dead on the field, while the Vaudois had but one man slain.

Gianavello next repaired to the Alpe di Palaya di Geymeto. Opposite this hill was the town of Villaro, which had hitherto escaped destruction at the hands of the enemy, by reason of the number of its inhabitants who had catholicized. Gianavello sent word to these men of Villaro, that they must forthwith, by joining him, augment the number of the defenders of their common country, or, on refusal, be treated as apostates, traitors, and enemies. Upon this energetic appeal, the Villarons, from fear or from patriotism, joined the rough warrior who had addressed it to them; and who, his forces thus increased to more than 600 men, now resolved upon recovering the protestant capital of the valleys—the town of La Torre. The attempt was made, and failed; but more than 300 of the enemy's troops fell in the defence of the place.

Gianavello and Giaheri having established their head quarters on one of the heights of Angrogna, called Le Verné, found it necessary to take energetic measures for the support of their troops, and, accordingly, the inhabitants of Crussolo, a village situated in the valley of the Po, having inflicted much injury on the Vaudois during the recent massacres, Giaheri resolved to put them under contribution. He accordingly departed in the night, at the head of 450 men, and next morning, at daybreak, before the Crussolians could adopt any defensive measures, their village was taken possession of; they themselves fled unimpeded to a large cavern in the vicinity, and the Vaudois drove off more than 400 cattle and 600 sheep, which were transported to the Alpe di Lionza, and there portioned among the victors.

Meanwhile, the catholics of San Segonzo and the neighbouring

villages had marched to attack the 150 men left at Angrogna ; but were vigorously repulsed by Laurens and Benet. In their retreat they came upon an unhappy Vaudois, Pietro Reggio, solitary and unarmed, whom they seized, and put to a cruel death.

Two days afterwards, 15th June, 1655, the marquis di Pianèza, having set on foot all the troops under his command, sustained by a regiment which had just arrived under the orders of M. de Marolles, advanced to attack Gianavello in Angrogna. The troops, who were in four divisions, were to strike all at once ; but this simultaneity of operations could not be effected, by reason of the different routes which the army had followed, and the points, remote from each other, which it had occupied. The detachment arriving by Roccapiatta, gave the signal for attack prematurely, so that Gianavello, who had with him only 300 men, had obtained an advantage over these first assailants, before he was assailed, in his rear, by the troops arriving from Pramolo.

In order to keep them separate, he at once made his way to the heights of Roccamanante ; but there he found himself fronted by the troops arriving from San Giovanni, and at the same moment he perceived the detachment from La Torre advancing.

In this critical position, assailed from every direction, and having only half his men with him, the hero of Rora, quick of eye and prompt in execution, retrograded before the battalion from Roccapiatta had time to form, dashed through the centre of that from Pramolo, and then, as he had so successfully done at Rora, took up a position on the brow of a hill, the formation of which, on the one side, was a succession of gentle slopes, but, on the other, a sharp and precipitous descent. The four hostile battalions were drawn up at the foot of the slope. Thus hemmed in between a rugged precipice, and an army ten times more numerous than his own force, Gianavello maintained unbroken a defensive attitude for nearly five hours : then, perceiving some indications of lassitude and hesitation in the opposing ranks, Gianavello, having first raised his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, " Oh God ! it is in thy cause ! aid and preserve us ! " gave the word to his men, " Forwards ! " and, like an avalanche of pikes, swords, and bullets, the Vaudois dashed down the slopes with all the impetuosity of long pent-up valour. Without awaiting their shock, the enemy fell back, for the purpose of deploying in the plain. By this manœuvre they weakened their line :

the impetus of the Vaudois broke it. Utter disorder ensued, and those 3000 men fled in panic fear, pursued by the Vaudois, who killed more than 500 of their number, themselves having but one man killed and two wounded.

But, unhappily, the work did not end here. Having cleared the basin of Angrogna from these invaders, Gianavello returned to his entrenchments, at the same moment that Giaheri arrived from Pragela. The troops of both leaders were fatigued, the one with fighting, the other with marching; those of Gianavello had eaten nothing since the morning. While they were hastily refreshing themselves, their leader went to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and found that they were rallying in the plain of San Giovanni, but that the various corps were still dispersed, and evidently without the least idea of another attack. The indefatigable Vaudois general at once called his men together, and having descended unperceived, fell like lightning upon the heedless foe, who were a second time put to the rout, leaving one hundred of their number dead on the field. The triumph, however, menaced to be a calamity far worse than a defeat, for in the rapid engagement, Gianavello, that leader whom the Vaudois could not have replaced, was hit by a ball, which, entering the chest, passed completely through his body. The mouth was at once filled with blood; he fainted, and for a moment his soldiers thought him dead: reviving, he entrusted the command to Giaheri, to whom he gave his instructions, amid the tears and prayers of his loved and loving soldiers. He was conveyed on a litter to Pinache, where, after six weeks' suffering, his wound healed.

His last direction, on quitting Giaheri, had been to undertake nothing further that day, on account of the fatigued condition of their troops; but an emissary coming with information that the town of Osasco could be easily taken, Giaheri, in whom intrepidity ever got the better of prudence, and who was eager to signalize himself by some effective stroke, took with him a hundred and fifty soldiers, and marched towards Osasco, under the guidance of the emissary. That emissary was a traitor: he led Giaheri into an ambush, where a squadron of cavalry fell furiously upon the Vaudois, and absolutely overpowered them. In this last struggle Giaheri surpassed himself in valour: seeing he had been betrayed, he first slew the traitor, and then, having invoked the aid of God, threw himself with his men, sword in hand, upon

the Savoy cavalry, and made terrible slaughter of them; and it was not until he was absolutely covered with wounds, that he fell. His son died by his side, and, of all his men, but one survived, who, having concealed himself for some hours in a marsh, swam the Clusone at night, and conveyed the intelligence of their deplorable loss to his countrymen.

Giaheri was a man zealous alike in the service of God, and in the cause of his country; brave as a lion, humble as a lamb, and ever assigning the praise of his victories to the Lord; a master of the scriptures, and well versed in controversy; a man of great intellect, and whose only fault was the incapacity to moderate his valour.

CHAPTER XXIII.

END OF THE STRUGGLE, NEGOTIATIONS AND CONCESSIONS.

June—September, 1655.

THE death of Giaheri, and the supposed mortal wound of Gianavello, raised the courage of the papists, and persecution seemed to acquire, so far, a new impulse. But, on the other hand, public opinion pronounced itself, more and more energetically, in favour of the Vaudois. The admirers of military skill and soldierly daring were interested by the exploits of the fallen leaders and their heroic followers; the sufferings of the Vaudois martyrs exalted the Vaudois cause in the eyes of the pious. Soldiers from almost all countries came and offered their services to the persecuted folk. In the number, were the French lieutenant-general Descombies, and the Swiss colonel, Andrion; the latter of whom had already distinguished himself in Sweden, France, and Germany. The Vaudois themselves possessed leaders of considerable skill. Bertino and Podio, of Bobbio; Albarea, of Villaro; Laurens, of Val San Martino; with Revello and Cortabella, the lieutenants of Gianavello and Giaheri. The moderator Leger himself arrived in the valleys on the 11th July, 1655, and at once proceeded, accompanied by colonel Andrion, to the valley of Angrogna, where the Vaudois were encamped on La Vachera. In the night, scouts were despatched towards La Torre to reconnoitre the enemy. On reaching the hamlet of

San Lorenzo, these messengers discerned a detachment of Piedmontese troops, who were awaiting the daylight in order to advance and attack the Vaudois. The two scouts mingling with these soldiers, conversed with them in their own language, and so learned the designs of their general, M. de Marolles. At daybreak the Vaudois quitted the enemy's camp, and made their way to their own barricades, which they reached just in time to give the alarm. The Piedmontese troops, arranged in four battalions, were occupied from five in the morning till three in the afternoon, in an ineffectual attack upon the Vaudois barricades, though these were defended by only a few hundred men. At length, the lower barricade being taken, the Vaudois retreated to a barricade called the Donjon, higher up, followed by the Piedmontese, who, deeming themselves triumphant, insolently called out: "Advance, wreck of Gianavello!" But down the steep descent the Vaudois rolled stones, or rather rocks, which, leaping with thundering roar upon the enemy's ranks, dispersed, broke, and crushed them, as though it had been a massive discharge of granite grape-shot.

"Advance, wreck of San Segonzo!" cried the Vaudois in their turn, as, sword in hand, they poured down their serried ranks upon the amazed and discomfited foe. The result was almost instantaneous; after a brief show of resistance, the Piedmontese troops, their ranks broken by the avalanche of rocks, and driven in by the avalanche of pikes and swords, turned and fled, leaving 200 dead behind them, and carrying off with them twice that number of wounded.

Some days afterwards, the garrison of La Torre made another incursion into the valley of Angrogna, for the purpose of burning the remnant of the crops, but they were repulsed by captain Bellino, who pursued them to the very gates of the town.

The Vaudois themselves, under the command of M. Descombies, and aided by a small body of cavalry under another French refugee, Charles Feautrier, made, in their turn, an attempt upon La Torre; their numbers had now reached 1800 armed men, and Gianavello, restored to health, was once more with them. The combined forces marched during the night to Monte Chiabasso, distant scarcely a mile from La Torre, and the Vaudois were eager instantly to assault the town; but the fatal prudence of M. Descombies interposed. This officer had never yet seen the Vaudois fight, and was ignorant of the locality, so that when

some of his French followers, whom he had sent to reconnoitre the citadel of La Torre, reported that it was impregnable, he sounded a retreat, being desirous, as he said, of not compromising, in his first engagement, the men who had been entrusted to his command. The march of the Vaudois, however, had, meantime, become known, and M. de Marolles at once hastened from Luzerna, towards La Torre, at the head of his regiment, to attack them. The van of the Vaudois army, following M. Descombies, had already withdrawn towards La Vachera, but two of the Vaudois leaders, Bellino and Peronello, resolved to attack the town, and precipitated themselves towards it, with the other moiety of the Vaudois forces, Gianavello himself, as yet not strong enough to take part in the actual engagement, remaining on an eminence which commanded a view of the town, in order to sound a retreat, should circumstances so dictate. The Vaudois, well acquainted with the locality, made their way into the town, took and burned the Capuchin monastery, occupied all the leading streets, and then advanced to assault the citadel. The garrison, after a brief resistance, were about to surrender, when the regiment of M. de Marolles appeared in sight, and Gianavello at once sounded a retreat, which the Vaudois effected, avoiding the superior force of the enemy by their closer knowledge of the locality.

Meanwhile the remonstrances of protestant Europe were assuming a still more and more emphatic form. Cromwell, especially, displayed in favour of the Vaudois extraordinary zeal and activity. In reply to his letter of the 25th of May, already given, Louis XIV. had said: "To show you that I entirely disapprove of the employment of my troops for such a purpose as attacking the Vaudois, I have already sent several messages to the duke of Savoy, to prevent the further pursuit of that people, and I have ordered the duke de Lesdiguières, governor of Dauphiny, to receive, foster, and protect them. I will assuredly continue my good offices with the duke in their behalf." The French ambassador in Piedmont also received orders to act in the sense of this letter; similar instructions were given by Holland and Switzerland to their representatives at Turin; and the protector of England sent Sir Samuel Morland upon a special mission to the court of Turin, to present letters of strong remonstrance to the duke of Savoy himself, and to demand an audience, for the purpose of making a public declaration of the

indignation which the proceedings against the Vaudois had excited in England. Cromwell could not have chosen a man better qualified to discharge the duties of such an embassy than Morland. Young, ardent, full of courage, and conscious of the dignity of the character which he had to sustain, as the representative of the commonwealth of England, he procured an audience at Rivoli, where the royal family of Savoy were then residing, and in the presence of Madame Royale, and the whole court, he addressed the duke in a Latin oration, which, after a few customary expressions of courtesy, contained truths that none but a stern republican could think of sounding in royal ears. It was the pride, and perhaps the policy, of Cromwell, to transact all his negotiations with foreign powers in the language of ancient Rome. He would not condescend to hold intercourse in any but his own, or a learned tongue, and he considered that by this means neither himself nor his ministers could be made the dupes of equivocal and ambiguous phrases. Milton was the secretary whom he employed to put his own expressions into a correct and classical form.

The oration, as given by Morland himself, in his quaint translation, ran thus :—

“ May it please your most serene and royal highness,

“ I am sent by the most serene prince Oliver, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto your royal highness, whom he heartily saluteth, and with a very high and singular affection of mind towards the person of your serene highness, wishing you life, a long reign, and prosperous successes in all your affairs, together with the love and affections of your people. And this respect doubtless is due to your merit, whether a man consider the most noble inclination, and royal extraction, of your highness, together with the high expectation which the world hath from so many eminent virtues, or whether, from perusing the monuments of time past, he call to mind the ancient alliance of our kings with the royal family of Savoy. As for myself, though I be a young man, I confess, and have not much experience in affairs, yet it pleased my most serene and most gracious master, to send me, being one that is very much devoted to your royal highness, and a great lover of all the people of Italy, to negotiate matters of great importance, for so those affairs are to be called, wherein the safety of many

poor distressed people and all their hope is comprehended, which indeed consisteth wholly in this, if so be that by all their loyalty, obedience, and most humble petitions, they may be able to mollify and appease the mind of your royal highness, which hath been provoked against them.

"In behalf of these poor people whose cause truly even commiseration itself may seem to make the more excusable, the most serene protector of England is also become an intercessor; and he most earnestly entreateth and beseecheth your royal highness, that you would be pleased to extend your mercy to these your very poor subjects, and most disconsolate outcasts: I mean those, who, inhabiting beneath the Alps, and certain valleys under your dominion, are professors of the protestant religion. For he hath been informed, (which no man can say was done by the will of your royal highness,) that part of these most miserable people have been cruelly massacred by your forces, part driven out by violence, and forced to leave their native habitations; and so, without house or shelter, poor and destitute of all relief, do wander up and down, with their wives and children, in craggy and uninhabitable places, and mountains covered with snow. Oh! the fired houses which are yet smoking, the torn limbs, and ground defiled with blood!*

* * * * *

"Some men, an hundred years old, decrepit with age and bed-ridden, have been burnt in their beds. Some infants have been dashed against the rocks, others have had their throats cut, whose brains have, with more than Cyclopean cruelty, been boiled and eaten by the murderers! What need I mention more, although I could reckon up very many cruelties of the same kind, if I were not astonished at the very thought of them. If all the tyrants of all times and ages were alive again, (which I would speak without any offence to your highness, seeing we believe none of these things were done through any default of yours,) certainly they would be ashamed when they should find that they had contrived nothing, in comparison with these things, that might be reputed barbarous and inhuman.

"In the meantime, the angels are surprised with horror; men are amazed; heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men; and the very earth to blush, being discoloured

* *Fumantia passim tecta, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus. Virgines post stupra differto lapillis ac ruderibus utero, miserè efflurant animas.*

with the gore blood of so many innocent persons ! Do not thou, O thou most high God, do not thou take that revenge, which is due to so great wickednesses, and horrible villanies ! Let thy blood, O Christ, wash away this blood !

“ But it is not my business to make a narrative of these things, in order as they were done, or to insist any longer upon them ; and that which my most serene master desireth of your royal highness, you will better understand by his own letters, which letters I am commanded, with all observance and due respect, to deliver unto your royal highness ; to which, if your royal highness shall, as we very much hope, be pleased to vouchsafe a speedy answer, you will thereby very highly oblige my lord protector, who hath laid this thing deeply to heart, and the whole commonwealth of England. You will also, by an act of compassion, most worthy of your royal highness, restore life, safety, and spirit, country and estates, to many thousands of afflicted people, who depend upon your pleasure ; and me you will dismiss back to my native country with exceeding joy, and with a report of your eminent virtues, the most happy proclaimer of your princely clemency, and one for ever most obliged to your royal highness.”

This oration, stamped with the energetic unction of the puritan, pronounced with the manly confidence of youth and courage, produced a deep sensation. Charles-Emanuel made no reply ; but the duchess, instructed beforehand by her Jesuit advisers, said : “ We are deeply sensible of the interest your master takes in our subjects, but surprised that he should listen to such inaccurate statements as those upon which he has evidently acted. Were he better informed of the facts, he would know that what have been represented to him as barbarities, were nothing more than mild and paternal chastisement, inflicted on rebellious subjects, whose revolt no sovereign could overlook. Nevertheless, in manifestation of our desire to be agreeable to his serene highness, we will not only pardon them, but restore them to our favour, and to the privileges which their ill-conduct has forfeited.”

Morland, thrown off his guard by this promise, quitted Turin, on the 19th of July, promising to return and take part, on behalf of the Vaudois, in the negotiations which were to take place respecting them. But care was taken to precipitate those negotiations in his absence, in order that less might be granted ; and

accordingly, on the 18th of August, 1655, in presence of the Swiss envoys, who had arrived after the departure of Morland, and under the influence of the French ambassador, Servient, was concluded, at Pinerolo, the treaty of peace, designated the Patent of Grace, which left the poor Vaudois more completely than ever at the mercy of their oppressors, under the mask of establishing their security. This shameful treaty, by which the protestant states were duped, and the Vaudois churches left in the same unprotected situation as ever, was very appositely compared to a leper, arrayed in rich clothing and gay attire; and to Ezekiel's roll, "written within and without, in the mouth as honey for sweetness, but within there were written lamentations, and mourning, and woe." Its leading provisions were these:—

"The Vaudois, having taken up arms against their sovereign, have merited chastisement; yet, out of clemency, they shall be pardoned; and the duke of Savoy, wishing to manifest to the world with what tender affection he loves his people, consents to grant them:—

"1. The confirmation of their privileges; that is, liberty of conscience, of commerce, and of transit.

"2. Amnesty for the excesses committed by them during the late disturbances.

"3. Annulment of the processes instituted against Leger, Gianavello, Michelino, and other outlaws.

"4. It is forbidden to the protestants to dwell henceforth on the right bank of the Pelice, below Luzerna, or at Luzernella, Bubiana, Campiglione, Fenile, Garciglione, Bricherasio, and San Secondo.

"5. The lands and goods of the Vaudois situate within the districts so interdicted to them, shall be sold by them, within three months, or, in default, shall be sold by the government exchequer at the market price, and the produce be paid over to them.

"6. The Vaudois may dwell in the commune of San Giovanni, but they may not celebrate any religious service or worship there whatever, in public.

"7. Seeing that the losses they have suffered render them incapable of the payment, they shall be exempt from certain imposts, for the space of five years.

"8. Mass shall be celebrated in all the valleys, but the Vaudois shall not be bound to attend it.

"9. Those who, during the late troubles, have abjured their

religion, as they allege under restraint, and desire to return to protestantism, shall not, for so returning, be punished as relapsed persons.*

“ 10. The prisoners, on both sides, including women and children, shall be restored, when claimed.”†

The other ten clauses were of the same character. The Swiss plenipotentiaries had endeavoured to secure more solid guarantees for the security of the Vaudois, such, for example, as the demolition of the fortress of La Torre ; but these were all either refused or eluded.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INFRACTIONS OF THE TREATY OF PINEROLO.

1655—1660.

THE baneful effects of this jesuitical affair were soon felt by the deluded Vaudois, who, in their pathetic appeals for redress, used some of the most affecting expressions in scripture to signify their distress. “ We have no grapes in the vineyard,” they said ; “ no cattle in the fields ; no herds in the stalls ; no corn in the garners ; no meal in the barrel ; no oil in the cruse. The tongue of the sucking cleaves to the roof of his mouth, and the young children ask bread, and no man gives it to them.” In the translation of a letter, written by the ministers and elders of the valleys to their brethren of Geneva, dated Pinaches, 14th February, 1657, and preserved, among many other Vaudois records, in the State Paper Office at London, there occur these touching passages :—

“ Our poor people are in extreme necessitie, the greatest part of our families being destitute of houses, moveables, cattel, or any thing else whereby to subsist.—If you did but know, sirs, the greatnesse of our miseries, you would certainly have compassion on us, and pitie our sad condition. God is now in good earnest chastizing us for our sins and iniquities, to which wee most wil-

* Great care, however, had been taken to remove all such persons, as far as possible, beyond reach.

† Here, again, care had been previouly taken to convey the captured children of the Vaudois from place to place, and so to conceal them, that the parents of most of them knew not where they were, and could not, therefore, claim them in the insidious sense of the clause.

linglie submitt, kissing the rod, and confessing that hee is still just and righteous."

To the French king, whom they justly considered the main author of their grievances, since it was he who had patched up the perfidious treaty, they addressed an humble petition, imploring his interposition, and urging him to see justice done to them. But their only answers were some angry letters, written by the French ambassador (Servient), who had himself assisted in framing the treaty; and who sharply rebuked them for their presumption and discontent. One of these letters even reproached them for accepting supplies and moneys from foreigners. These moneys were the contributions received from England. "Alas!" said the poor sufferers, "was it ever known before that miserable men, after losing the whole of their estates, after having had their houses burnt, and their goods plundered, should have it objected to them, that they had received the charity of those who had pity on them, to prevent their perishing of hunger!"

One of the Swiss ambassadors was so dissatisfied with the terms of the treaty, in the first instance, even before it was concluded, that he strongly remonstrated with his colleagues, and urged them not to consent to it: and afterwards subscribed to a protest, the original attestation of which is among the manuscripts in the university library at Cambridge.

"I, who have subscribed my name, do declare by this attestation, that M. Stockar, ambassador from the city and canton of Schaffhausen to his royal highness the duke of Savoy, during the treaty of Pinerolo, did earnestly request messieurs the ambassadors his colleagues not to hasten the said treaty, but rather to defer the conclusion of it, until the arrival of the ambassadors from England and Holland; and that he urged every remonstrance, and showed how dangerous and prejudicial this proceeding would be, not only to the inhabitants of the valleys, but also to the common cause of all the protestants. And when he found that his expostulations were of no avail, and that he was not listened to, he protested that he would not be responsible for the consequences.

"(Signed)

ANDREW SCHMIDT.

"Secretary to the embassy."

"Done at Geneva, 17-27th September, 1655."

Cromwell was furious upon finding how completely the protestant states had been overreached, in their negotiation with the

duke of Savoy, and in the faith they placed in the mediation of the king of France. He wrote to Louis XIV. in a high tone of indignant remonstrance:

“Most serene and potent king,

“Your majesty may remember, that at the time when the negotiation began between us, for the renewal of the alliance, which has proved so beneficial to the two nations, and so detrimental to our common enemies, the cruel massacre of the Vaudois took place; and that we earnestly and pathetically commended the cause of that unhappy people, who appeared to be oppressed and abandoned by all, to your pity and protection. We cannot believe that your majesty neglected to make use of your authority and influence with the duke of Savoy, when it was so incumbent upon you to exert yourself in the pious and humane character of a mediator; as for ourselves, and many other princes and states, we interposed all that we could, by embassies, letters, and entreaties. The result was, that after a most barbarous slaughter of persons of both sexes, and of all ages, a treaty of peace was concluded, or rather secret acts of hostility were committed, the more securely under the name of a pacification. The conditions of the treaty were determined in your town of Pine-rollo; hard conditions enough, but such as these poor people would gladly have agreed to, after the horrible outrages to which they had been exposed, provided that they had been faithfully observed. But they were not observed: the meaning of the treaty is evaded and violated, by putting a false interpretation upon some of the articles, and by straining others: many of the complainants have been deprived of their patrimonies; and many have been forbidden the exercise of their religion: new payments have been exacted; and a new fort has been built, to keep them in check; from whence a disorderly soldiery make frequent sallies, and plunder or murder all they meet. In addition to these things, fresh levies of troops are clandestinely preparing to march against them; and those among them who profess the Roman-catholic religion have been advised to retire in time; so that everything threatens the speedy destruction of such as escaped the former massacre. I do therefore beseech and conjure your majesty not to suffer such enormities, and not to permit (I will not say any prince, for surely such barbarity never could enter into the heart of a prince, much less of one of the duke's tender

age, or into the mind of his mother) those accursed murderers to indulge in such savage ferocity, who, while they profess to be the servants and followers of Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, do blaspheme his name, and transgress his mild precepts, by the slaughter of innocent men. Oh that your majesty, who has the power, and who ought to be inclined to use it, may deliver so many supplicants from the hands of murderers, who are already drunk with blood, and thirst for it again, and who take pleasure in throwing the odium of their cruelty upon princes. I implore your majesty not to suffer the borders of your kingdom to be polluted by such monstrous wickedness. Remember that this very race of people threw themselves upon the protection of your grandfather, king Henry IV., who was most friendly disposed towards the protestants, when the duke of Leodigières passed victoriously through their country, as affording the most commodious passage into Italy, at the time he pursued the duke of Savoy in his retreat across the Alps. The act or instrument of that submission is still extant among the public records of your kingdom, in which it is provided that the Vaudois shall not be transferred to any other government, but upon the same condition that they were received under the protection of your invincible grandfather. As supplicants, of his grandson, they now implore the fulfilment of this compact: they would rather be your subjects than the duke's, and hope that it may be effected by some mode of exchange, if possible, and if not, that at least they may be taken under your patronage and protection. There are other reasons of state which might induce your majesty not to neglect the Vaudois; but I would not wish so great a king to be influenced by anything but his regard to the faith pledged by his ancestors, and by his own piety, and royal benevolence and magnanimity. Thus the honour and praise of so glorious an act will be entirely your own, and your majesty will propitiate the grace and favour of the Father of Mercies, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose name and doctrine you will vindicate against such nefarious and inhuman proceedings.

"Given at our court at Westminster, this 26th of May, 1658."

Cromwell also despatched a letter to the Swiss cantons, plainly signifying his own readiness to go all lengths, in conjunction with them, for the benefit of the Vaudois; and warning them that they were bound, by every consideration of interest, as well

as feeling, to see that the most ancient stock of the reformed religion be not destroyed, in the remains of its old faithful professors, lest the next blow should fall upon themselves.

It had been, during the negotiation of the treaty, agreed, on the part of Savoy, that, though the duke could not "so far humiliate himself before his subjects" as to have a clause inserted formally decreeing the demolition of the fortress of La Torre, an object very material with the Vaudois, by reason of past sufferings and future fears, yet that, so soon as the treaty should be signed, his highness, "requiring no other fortress than the hearts of his grateful people," would have the castle of La Torre rased. The treaty was signed; and then, in the space between the text and the signatures, the ducal counsellors interpolated this paragraph: "His royal highness grants to the Vaudois the right of addressing to him supplications that the citadel of La Torre may be demolished absolutely, or removed elsewhere." This implication of the right to reject such supplications, rendered that an open question which had been distinctly settled and conceded: this was pointed out by the Vaudois; the answer was, that the interpolation had been made from some negligence of the copyist. The Vaudois, omitting to insist upon the point, addressed the supplication which the forged clause derisively suggested. The duke replied, with an affectation of extreme amenity, that he was happy to grant them a fresh proof of his benevolence, and that he would, accordingly, destroy all that portion of the fortress of La Torre "which was not necessary for the defence of his states."

He did, in fact, pull down a small detached tower, in the plain of La Torre; but, at the same time, he added largely both to the size and to the strength of the citadel, and, upon the completion of these new works, increased the number of the garrison.

The French authorities, however, became uneasy at this augmented strength of a fortress so near their own frontiers; and both Lesdiguières, the governor of Dauphiny, and La Bretonnière, commandant of Pinerolo, loudly declaring their dissatisfaction, Louis XIV. himself volunteered to guarantee the full execution of the treaty which had been concluded under his auspices. A synod was held at La Torre to deliberate upon this offer, and the Vaudois thence forwarded to the monarch a memorial, in which they set forth the various respects in which the *patents of grace* had been altogether violated: the Vaudois

prisoners, they said, were not restored to them; their children were still forced or stolen from them; and the soldiers of the Piedmontese garrison perpetrated, with utter impunity, the gravest outrages upon their persons and properties. Pillage and assassination, violence and violation, continued, then, to be the catholic *work of faith*; the propaganda proceeded with its "holy mission."

One labour of this mission was to sow division among the Vaudois, by the medium of Jesuits, who, under the guise of protestant refugees from Languedoc, introduced themselves into the valleys, and applied all their talents to the perfidious task. Among other vile insinuations, they spread rumours of malversation against those pastors who had been entrusted with the distribution of the collections made abroad for the use of the Vaudois; and misery being ever mistrustful, these calumnies served, for a while, the treacherous purpose of those who propagated them. New trials, however, soon united all against a common danger.

The auditor Gastaldo, who, still a member of the propaganda, had become governor of the valleys, issued, 15th June, 1657, a decree prohibiting the Vaudois from publicly celebrating their worship at San Giovanni, under a penalty of 1000 crowns of gold against the presiding minister, and of 200 against each person present. New papist missions were established in the valleys; the Jesuits got a footing in every direction; exemptions from taxes, and other privileges were granted to all catholic converts, while the protestants were treated with systematic rigour; the Dauphinese pastors who had come to minister sympathy and consolation, religious and fraternal, to the Vaudois of the valleys, were expelled, on the pretext of their being foreigners.

The persecuted people complained of the oppressions to which they were subjected, in a memorial to the Swiss ambassadors who had negotiated the treaty of Pinerolo, and the latter, in their turn, addressed a memorial to the Piedmontese government, complaining of the infraction of the treaty to which they were parties. The president, Truchsis, in his reply, threw the whole blame upon the Vaudois, who, he absurdly said, were the real infractors of the treaty. The synod of the Vaudois valleys then drew up a detailed statement of their grievances, which was printed at Haarlem, in 1662, and again in 1663; but the Piedmontese authorities, so far from remedying the evil, seemed more and more bent upon aggravating it.

The treaty of Pinerolo had exempted the protestants from the payment of the arrears of the public charges for the deplorable year 1655, on the distinct ground of their total inability, by reason of their losses and privations, to pay them. Despite the deep misery from which foreign subscriptions had but partially relieved them, the Vaudois were now imperatively required to discharge these very arrears; and, to render the exaction more oppressive and more insulting, the catholics of the valley of San Martino were, at the same time, exempted from the payment of these charges, "as a compensation for the damage done to them by the protestants."

It was, however, less these money-wounds, than the wounds which affect the spiritual life, that aroused the Vaudois to renewed exertions. The prohibition to perform their worship in the comune of San Giovanni, was not only a grievous evil in itself, but a menace to all their churches. The edict of Cavour had guaranteed the free exercise of their worship in all places where it was then already established, and San Giovanni was one of these places. The treaty of Pinerolo had in no way restricted this guarantee. If one of their parishes were effectually assailed, the rest would soon succumb beneath similar strokes. Public preaching had, indeed, been forbidden to the Vaudois at San Giovanni, so long back as 1620, but the other functions of the protestant ministry had been maintained.

A general synod was assembled in March, 1658, to discuss this grave question. It was resolved that a memorial should be addressed to the sovereign in person, and that, meanwhile, the pastor of San Giovanni (Leger, the historian) should continue to exercise his ministry there, until the question, so submitted to the duke himself, had been definitively decided.

This determination on the part of the synod created great indignation at the court of Turin. "The first duty of subjects," it was insisted, "is to obey their prince. In resisting his orders, the Vaudois have rendered themselves guilty of revolt, and must be treated as rebels, as traitors;" and the protestant powers whom the synod had entreated to intercede in the matter, were met with the haughty declaration, that the persons in whom they interested themselves, without understanding the real state of the question, were rebels, who must be treated accordingly.

The object of especial irritation, on the part of the propaganda and the popish clergy, was Leger, that courageous pastor, who remained at his post, despite menaces and peril.

Already twice condemned to death, he now braved it for the third, and, as his enemies hoped, last time. He was cited to appear at Turin; the citation set forth no cause, and Leger did not obey it. A second citation was equally ineffectual. The count of Saluzzo, who took a deep interest in the Vaudois—an interest which appears hereditary in the family—then went to the minister, and, in a friendly manner, remonstrated with him upon the practical inexpediency of his resistance to authority; but the pastor persisted, and, on the 3rd May, 1658, he received another citation, ordering him to appear, under pain of banishment, and of the confiscation of his property. The pastor hereupon assembled his colleagues at Pinache, then a French town, in order to consult with them what course he should take; and the result of their deliberations was, that a solicitation should be addressed to the authorities to maintain Leger in his church. This proceeding, which should have been resorted to in the first instance, came too late. The request was rejected by the court; and after three years of sterile negotiations, Leger was, on the 12th January, 1661, condemned, by the senate of Turin, to death, and his co-accused, the deacons and elders of the church of San Giovanni, to ten years' labour in the galleys. Leger, thus compelled to withdraw from his native land, retired first to England,*

* A leading object with him, in this visit to England, was to secure for his suffering countrymen the balance (16,333*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*) of the money which had been collected for them in England, and which Charles II. had coolly appropriated, at his restoration, on the flagrant pretext that "he was not bound by any of the engagements of an usurper and tyrant, nor responsible for his *debts*." The following documents, given by Dr. Gilly, prove manifestly that the money was altogether the result of a public subscription, with which Cromwell had nothing to do, except as a munificent contributor:—

*" Committee of Affayres at Piedmont,
Wednesday, May 6th, 1657.*

" Ordered,

" That it be referred to Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir J. Trevor, Sir Thos. Vyner Sir C. Pack, Mr. Cresset, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Jenkyn, to take into consideration, and to inform themselves how the remainder of the moneys paid in upon collection for protestants of Piedmont, and not disposed of, may be let out to further advantage to that work, with respect to securing the principal, and letting it forth so as to be called in again upon a short warning, and report at next sitting."

" Ordered,

" November 27, 1657.

" That the treasurers dispose of the residue to the best advantage.

" That Sir Thomas Vyner have 5000*l.* of the same moneys paid in upon collection, to be paid in at a month's warning.

" That the chamberlain of London, 4000*l.*, on the security of himself and son on like terms.

then to Geneva, and lastly to Leyden, where he published his *Histoire Générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, and where he died, towards 1684.

"That Mr. Backwell have 2000*l*. more on like terms, giving such security as shall be satisfactory to Sir Thomas Vyner and Sir C. Pack."

*"At the Committee for the Valleys of Piemont, Wednesday,
9th 11th of May, 1658, 9 in 9th morning.*

"They desire Mr. Secretary to signify to the council that they wish 3000*l*. to be sent speedily to enable the poor protestants to manage the war with which they are threatened, as occasion may require.

"In regard of their future establishment, they desire the remainder of the moneys to be employed as follows"

"Tuesday, 18th May, 1658.

"At the council of Whitehall, Mr. Serret reports—[The report consisted of the resolutions contained in the foregoing extract.]

"His highness and the council do approve of the said report, and order that the treasurers, for the moneys collected for the said poore protestants, doe accordingly transmit the said several sums unto the said committee, to be employed and distributed according to the said report.

(Signed)

"W. JESSOP, Secretary of the Council."

*"By the Committee for the Affayres of the poor people in the
Valleys of Piemont.*

"October 12, 1658.

"Whereas his late highness and the council did, by their order bearing date the 18th of May, 1658, settle an annual pension upon the ministers, schoolmasters, and several others among the said protestants, and by another order of the 27th of May, 1658, did appoynt the actual remission of the said pensions, that is to say for one halfe yeare ending the 24th of June next ensuing, amounting to the summe of three hundred and seven pounds: and whereas Mr. Morland has represented to us, that as the time is now approaching that another halfe yeare from the said terme of the 24th of June will bee expired, at least before the saide moneys can actually be received:

"Wee doe therefore humble declare that we doe consent, in case the same bee thought fitt, by his highness and the council, that the above-mentioned summe of 307*l*., being the just summe of one halfe yeares pension, be forthwith payd by the treasurers—viz., Sir Thomas Vyner and the Lord Pack, to Mr. Morland, and by him remitted as he has done the former summes.

"Signed,

EDWARD CRESSETT,
TOBIAS BRIDGE,
PHILIP NYE,
WILLIAM JENKYN,
JOSEPH CARYT."

This last minute proves, beyond all question, that there was no misapplication of the capital or interest of the fund established for the Vaudois, out of the collection raised in 1655, during the protectorate either of Oliver or Richard Cromwell.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WAR OF THE EXILES.

1660 — 1664.



AN GIOVANNI'S pastor, Leger, and Gianavello, had been condemned to death, twenty other persons to the galleys, and many more were still under prosecution, for having resisted the orders of their sovereign in exercising the protestant worship at that town. The condemned men having fled, a price was put upon their heads, and meanwhile troops were sent to demolish their houses and devastate their little farms. The command of the fortress of La Torre was confided to the count di Bagnolo, one of the massacres of 1655, the zealous servant of the propaganda. His soldiers, with corresponding zeal, committed all sorts of excesses—pillage, conflagration, murder, violation. Many of the poor villagers fleeing from their cottages to escape these outrages, di Bagnolo issued a proclamation forbidding any person to receive these unhappy creatures, under penalty of himself having his property destroyed. Every conceivable and inconceivable mode of injuring and irritating the Vaudois was had recourse to. Di Bagnolo, who afterwards died on the scaffold, convicted of one hundred and twenty odious murders, was ably aided in this work by the commandant of the fortress of Miraboco, himself a man who, having been prosecuted for more than sixty murders committed prior to the marriage of the duke of Savoy, had, on that occasion, received a pardon for his crimes.

The only mortal help of the Vaudois, under these cruel persecutions, was Gianavello, whose troop of exiles was daily augmented by Vaudois expelled from their homes. Daily, also, did some daring exploit signalize the valour of Gianavello and his *banditi*, as the patriots were designated, who, deprived of their own legi-

timate means of subsistence, were necessitated to levy contributions for the support of themselves and the distressed mountaineers, on the catholic towns and villages. Not a day passed in which some action, more or less effective, did not take place between the Vaudois and their adversaries; the 25th May, 1663, and the following 17th June, were especially marked by triumphs on the part of the protestants.

On the 25th of the latter month, the duke of Savoy issued an edict, which, under the pretext of pacifying the Vaudois, commanded them all to take arms against the *banditi*, who were coolly described as persons assembled together for mere purposes of pillage, having no sort of connexion with the real question at issue. Two hundred and sixty men, drafted from the different communes, were to collect at Chiabasso, over-against La Torre, and there await the orders of the commandant of Bricherasio. Each commune was to give a hostage for its fidelity; and, on his part, the duke promised to institute an inquiry at Turin into the conduct of the count di Bagnolo, and, to crown these wondrous benefits, to pardon all the fugitive protestants, on condition of their returning home—that is to say, of their placing themselves within his power—in the space of fifteen days. By the same beneficent and friendly edict, Gianavello was condemned to be torn with pincers, to be quartered, and then to have his head cut off and stuck at the end of a pike on some elevated point. The condemnation of Leger to death was reiterated, and Artus, Bastia, Rivorio, the brothers Muston, Revel, and others, in all thirty-five persons, the prominent leaders of the little Vaudois army, were condemned to death, and the confiscation of their property. Six other persons were condemned to the galleys, and four to ten years' imprisonment. Such was the *clemency* of the propaganda! What its *rigours* were, may be readily imagined.

The governor of La Torre and the ducal treasurer-general urgently solicited the Vaudois to accept these conditions; but the Vaudois left the duke's *ultimatum* without reply. The commune of Prarustino alone declined to undergo the responsibility of refusal, with the valley of Luzerna; and the neighbouring seigneurs at once essayed their utmost efforts to augment this dissension. Unable to effect their object, they insisted that, at least, the inhabitants of the valley of Luzerna should give a proof of their peaceful spirit, and of their fidelity, by escorting

a convoy of provisions and ammunition to the fortress of Mirabocco.

This fortress commanded the narrowest part of the valley of Luzerna, and closed the passage into Dauphiny, whither, as has been seen, the Vaudois had frequently withdrawn in times of persecution. It was not, then, without much distrust that, in conveying war munitions to this fortress, the protestants contributed to close this retreat, in case of need, against themselves. But the governor of La Torre and the treasurer-general solemnly assured them, that, in acknowledgment of this act of submission, the most complete peace would be accorded them; and they and their families might return home without the smallest fears for the future.

The Vaudois were conforming to these counsels, when they heard that troops, secretly despatched from Turin, were marching against them. Six regiments of the royal guard had, in fact, quitted the capital on the 29th June, under the command of the marquis de Fleury, eleven days before the expiration of the delay which had been granted to the Vaudois, within which they might return home, and four days before the expiration of that within which they were to give their answer on the conditions proposed to them. Indeed, as was afterwards ascertained, fresh troops had been secretly directed towards La Torre and Luzerna, even before those conditions were propounded. It is, therefore, futile to excuse the aggression of which the Vaudois were now the object, on the plea that they had not obeyed the edict of 25th June, since the aggression commenced, not merely before they had replied on the conditions of that edict, but even before the edict was communicated to them.

The marquis de Fleury marched direct towards Angrogna, by the San Giovanni road. The marquis d'Angrogna, at the head of the cavalry of San Segonzo, proceeded towards the same point by the heights of Roccapiatta, while the infantry advanced thither by the ascents of Bricherasio. These various corps formed, at daybreak of 6th July, a junction on the higher plateau, where all these roads met, their object being to occupy La Vachera, which, rising above that plateau, dominates, as from a central point, the divergence of the three valleys.

But already a Vaudois corps of observation defended this important post.

The main body of the Vaudois army, commanded by Giana-

vello in person, had taken up a position lower down, on the slopes of San Giovanni; but when the chief witnessed the junction, in his front, of the corps of De Fleury and of Di Bagnolo, he despatched a body of sixty picked men to occupy *Le Porte d'Angrogna*, a defile opening upon the plateau, and covering at once La Vachera and Roccamanante, and himself, by the mountain paths so intimately known to him, led the rest of his little army, now numbering not more than 600 men, to the heights of Roccamanante, natural escarpments, almost inaccessible by the enemy. "Here," cried he to his men, "here is our Tabor! Let us pray to the Almighty for aid and encouragement."

The Vaudois had scarcely risen from their devotion, when the enemy were heard approaching. Instantly the besieged spread themselves amongst the rocks, occupying every access, and from every opening pouring down a destructive fire upon the assailants. Di Bagnolo, directing a halt, examined the position as closely as he could, and then essayed to carry it by assault; but he was signally repulsed. After taking breath, the soldiers attempted another assault, but they were again repulsed. The count had already lost 300 men; he ordered his soldiers to scale the rocks; but they had no sooner reached the summit than they were hurled back, one upon the other. Hereupon, a superstitious terror came over them; they called to mind all the tales that had been forged by the priests, of the Vaudois having made a compact with the devil, in order to secure invulnerability; of their receiving in their shirts the bullets that, with ordinary men, would have riddled their bodies; they hesitated and drew back; the quick eye of Gianavello perceived the advantage thus afforded him: "Let us sweep these cowards from the hill!" he cried to his men; and those hardy warriors rushed from their entrenchments upon the wavering foe, who, confirmed in their panic by this daring and impetuous movement, turned, and, carrying the count di Bagnolo with them in their flight, precipitated themselves tumultuously down the ascent, nor stayed until they had got far into the plain, after losing, on their way, a considerable number of their body.

Gianavello, rallying his heroic army, returned to the plateau, and thence, after a thanksgiving to God for the victory thus vouchsafed, proceeded to rejoin the sixty warriors whom he had sent to the *Porte d'Angrogna* to protect his rear. As he had foreseen, these sixty men so placed had sufficed to keep in check,

hitherto, the entire force of the marquis de Fleury. But the latter having gradually advanced from rock to rock, were about to hem the Vaudois in, when Gianavello, coming up with his 600 victors, took the enemy in flank; and the sixty besieged, becoming immediately assailants, and dashing from their defile upon the advanced ranks of the foe, the latter, who, on seeing Gianavello's army approach, at once understood that Di Bagnolo had been defeated, also gave way, and, after a short struggle, turned and fled, hotly pursued by the Vaudois. Not fewer than 600 of the enemy fell dead in this engagement, and several hundreds more died afterwards of their wounds, while the Vaudois, favoured by their position, and their knowledge of the ground, lost in all not more than six men.

Various minor skirmishes took place in the course of the following days; by each of these the numbers of the enemy were more or less diminished, while those of the Vaudois, so far from lessening, were augmented by fresh accessions, not only of Vaudois, but of French protestants, who came to aid their persecuted brethren.

The court of Savoy, incredulous that "a handful of rebels" could thus defeat so powerful an army, under competent command, imputed the blame to the marquis de Fleury, and accordingly superseded him, appointing the count di San Damiano in his place. The latter, resolved to signalize himself, marched, the day after his arrival, from Luzerna, at the head of 1500 troops, to attack the village of Rora, defended by fifteen Vaudois and eight Frenchmen. These heroic men did their utmost against the overwhelming force that assailed them, but, as a matter of course, were defeated, and cut in pieces, one of them excepted, who was taken prisoner.

Intoxicated with this glorious victory, the marquis, next day, made an irruption into the valley of Luzerna, and had reached and set fire to the village of Santa Margarita, when the Vaudois, 200 in number, descending by the defile of Copiere, attacked them on the sudden, dispersed them, put them to flight, and killed several hundreds of them.

Charles-Emanuel, finding that unskilfulness in his generals was not the only cause of the disastrous turn for him which this intestine war was assuming, resolved to try the effect of one comprehensive stroke of intimidation, and accordingly published, 10th of August, 1663, a decree by which all the

inhabitants of all the valleys were declared guilty of high treason, and, as such, condemned to death, and the confiscation of their goods. The decree, as a matter of course, produced no effect whatever; and the Vaudois, suffering as they were from bitter privations, still kept the field, and still defeated the ducal troops, wherever these presented themselves. Next, peace was offered to the persecuted folk, on condition that they would lay down their arms, that they would not raise the question of religion, and that each commune of the valleys having any representation to make should make it separately. In other words, the Vaudois were to place themselves defenceless in the hands of their relentless foes, were to surrender the very point for which they were contending, and were to dissolve the very union which constituted their strength. The offer was at once rejected. Next, the propaganda published a declaration, purporting to be a repudiation, on the part of the Vaudois of Prarustino, of the proceedings of their co-religionists; an appeal to the clemency of the duke; an entire submission to his will; and a full acceptance of the edict of 10th August. It was ascertained, upon investigation, first, that this declaration was that of only six persons, five of whom could not even sign their names; and, secondly, that even these six persons had only contemplated a solicitation for a truce of a few weeks, in order that they might gather in the vintage, then ripe. Such was the pitiable policy of the propaganda!

At length, upon the mediation of Holland, Germany, and the protestant Swiss cantons, the duke, wearied and disgusted with a contest in itself revolting to his naturally good sense and good heart, consented to a conference. Ambassadors from the mediating powers reached Turin, in November, 1663, and, an insidious attempt on the part of the priests to compromise the Vaudois in the eyes of their foreign allies having failed, eight deputies from the valleys soon afterwards joined them there, and the conferences commenced.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MEDIATION OF SWITZERLAND.—TREACHERY OF SAN DAMIANO.—
CONFERENCES IN THE HOTEL-DE-VILLE, AT TURIN.—ARBITRA-
TION OF LOUIS XIV.

1664—1680.



ON the 17th of December, 1663, the conferences between the representatives of the six protestant cantons of Switzerland and the representatives of Charles-Emanuel, on the subject of the complaints of the Vaudois against the governor of La Torre, opened at the Hôtel-de-Ville of Turin. The ducal representatives commenced the proceedings by narrating their view of the events which had led to the war, and which, according to them, resolved themselves into repeated rebellions of the Vaudois. The deputies of the latter replied that the real cause of the conflicts they so much deplored, was the aggressions and violence of the governor of La Torre. They cited, in proof of their allegations, infinite murders, robberies, tortures, and other violences that had been committed by the count. The count replied that the murders of which he was accused had not been committed by him, but had been the result of private vengeance; for that the only persons who had been killed by his orders were outlaws, who were in rebellion against the state, or their friends and relatives. He admitted that private houses might have been broken into; but this, he said, had been only for the purpose of domiciliary visits, necessary for the discovery of persons denounced by the law. He added that, after the 25th of June, he could not be responsible for any excesses which might have been committed, because troops had then come into the valleys over whom he had no effectual control. He distinctly denied the insults and menaces which had been imputed to him; but admitted that

he had retained a band of devastators, in order to oppose the men of the valleys. The memorial which set forth this defence concluded with the assurance "that the sieur di Bagnolo had endeavoured, with every sort of mildness and especial care, to keep the valleys in peace, and to separate them from all intercourse with the bandits, who had precipitated them into so inexcusable a rebellion." The Vaudois were then formally charged with a series of contraventions of the obedience due to their sovereign. And it was said that if they had had to complain of violence, they should have appealed to the laws. The answer was, that they had appealed to the laws, and had obtained no redress. With regard to public worship, the Vaudois contended that the right to celebrate their religion had been granted to them by repeated edicts. Upon this point, as upon the preceding, there was a long discussion between the representatives on both sides, originating in the most futile objections on the part of the popish councillors. The heaviest charge against the Vaudois was, that they had given aid and asylum to the exiles. The simple answer to this was, that the exiles in question were the brothers, fathers, or other near relatives of those who had given them assistance, and that to make the assistance so rendered matter of criminality, even against the individuals, was altogether unreasonable and inhuman; still more unreasonable was it to make the whole people responsible.

These first conferences terminated on the 31st of December; and, as their result, the ducal commissioners decided that the Vaudois had no cause of complaint; and that their taking up arms had been merely for the purpose of exciting sympathy in their favour abroad, with a view to the obtaining pecuniary assistance. The allegation was simply ridiculous. The collateral conduct of the propaganda was odious: *Nulla fides servanda hereticis*. While these conferences were proceeding, while the poor mountaineers, hoping a favourable issue, observed on their part the suspension of hostilities, the natural pendant of the state of negotiation, the propaganda were plotting their complete extermination by an act of treachery. The second sitting of the commissioners was on the 21st of December; on the 20th of December an order was drawn up, regulating "the distribution of the troops for the four attacks on the rebels of the valleys of Luzerna and San Martino, to be made to-morrow." On the morrow accordingly, 21st of December, 1663, the count di San

Damiano marched upon Prarustino, by San Segonzo, at the head of 1655 foot and fifty horse; the marquis de Parelli advanced towards Angrogna by La Garsinera, with 1576 foot and fifty horse, and the count Genegli towards the same point, but by Le Porte and San Germano, with a battalion of 786 men. Captain Cagnolo occupied the plain of San Giovanni with 100 horse, ready to proceed wherever circumstances should call him; while the governor of La Torre, the same count di Bagnolo who was so solicitous for the peace of the Vaudois, was to march against the protestants, at the head of 1118 men, by Le Copiere and Santa Margarita. It was in this latter direction that the attack began. The Vaudois were driven from Santa Margarita upon Le Copiere, and from Le Copiere upon Tagliaretto. Here, however, they made a stand, entrenched among the rocks, until they saw a troop of their brethren marching up from Angrogna. Thus enforced, from assailed they became assailants, and, making an impetuous sortie upon the front of the enemy, while the Angrognese attacked them in flank, the superstitious terror which the Vaudois had so often before excited in the minds of their adversaries again manifested itself. The papist troops, once vacillating, were speedily put to the rout by the combined Vaudois, who drove them down into the plain of La Torre. At Angrogna itself, defended by captain Prionello, the marquis de Parelli was especially unsuccessful. At San Germano, on the other hand, the count de Genegli completely defeated the Vaudois, devastated their fields and their vineyards, and burned their houses. At Roccapiatta, a poor woman, nearly a hundred years old, and bed-ridden, was burned alive; at San Germano, a young woman, after being monstrously outraged, had the flesh cut from her bones in long shreds, and was then left to die in her torture. Several men, in the same place, were mutilated in a manner that cannot be described. Such are the tender mercies of popery! But the Vaudois, though themselves vanquished, made the victory very bitter to their enemies: more than a hundred of the popish soldiery were slain, and there fell, besides, the count de la Trinité, a descendant of him who so cruelly persecuted the Vaudois in the preceding century; the young count de Saint-Frons, a descendant of the old persecutors of the Vaudois in the valley of Praviglelmo; captain Biala, and M. de Grand-Maison.

When the Swiss ambassadors were made acquainted with

these aggressions, they loudly complained to the duke's ministers of so outrageous a violation of the armistice. It was replied, that the troops of his royal highness, being in want of provisions, had merely taken measures for extending their quarters. "But how do you account for these burnings, these massacres, that have taken place?"—"The Vaudois resisted the movements of our troops, and some slight collisions occurred, in which a few men were killed, a few houses burned, *by inadvertence!*"

Was the distribution of the troops, on the 20th of December, "for the four attacks on the rebels," an inadvertence?

The Swiss deputies, fain to be content with these manifest falsehoods, resumed the negotiations; and at last it was agreed that the basis of an arrangement should be preserved to the Vaudois, under the title of *patents of grace*; for the duke of Savoy could not consent, from the height of his sovereign dignity, to treat these "miserable heretics" on equal terms. Whatever was granted, therefore, was to be granted as wholly matter of grace; and, being so accepted by the Vaudois, necessarily involved an acknowledgment that there had been rebellion on their part, which neither they nor the Swiss ambassadors at all admitted. The Vaudois, accordingly, hesitated whether they should accept the propositions on such terms; but their Swiss protectors urging them not to compromise the question by insisting upon mere points of language, they assented, and it was agreed that a general amnesty should be granted to the Vaudois, with the exception of such as had been condemned by the edict of the 25th of June, 1663; and, secondly, that Charles-Emanuel should ratify the patents of grace granted at Pinerolo, the 18th of August, 1655; reserving to himself power to require from the Vaudois guarantees for the future, and fitting satisfaction for recent occurrences, under the arbitration of the king of France.

This arbitration, as a matter of course, became the source of a thousand difficulties. The next clause of the *patents of grace* of 1664 related to religious exercises at San Giovanni. Public worship was forbidden there to the protestants. A pastor might repair thither, twice a year, to visit the faithful, but he was not to reside there, nor even to pass a night there, except in case of absolute necessity. He might visit the sick, but he was not to hold any religious meeting, nor even instruct any catechumens within the limits of the parish.

This clause, also, became the source of infinite vexations upon

the Vaudois, of charges easily made, but with difficulty refuted; a narration of the annoyances and oppressions which the Vaudois endured under this clause would alone occupy a volume.

Article 6 enacted that the pastors of the Vaudois churches must thenceforward be natives of the valleys. This condition was beneficial to them, in fortifying their evangelical individuality, which was in danger of becoming enfeebled under the too protracted direction of foreign pastors.

Article 7 declared that the catholic churches and chapels which had been destroyed in the last war should be rebuilt at the cost of the Vaudois.

Article 8 provided that the prisoners on both sides should be released.

An agreement to disarm was respectively adopted upon the promulgation of this document, and the duke of Savoy wrote to the Swiss cantons, by their delegates, that he would in every respect adhere to the terms of the settlement.

After their infinite troubles, the Vaudois now began to hope that they should enjoy some repose; when all at once they received orders to send to Turin delegates empowered, in the name of the entire people, to recognise the guarantees and indemnities required by Charles-Emanuel in virtue of Article 2 of the treaty.

On assembling at the appointed place and time, the duke of Savoy informed the Vaudois that they must pay him 581,000 francs, as the expenses of the war, and a further sum of 330,367 francs to indemnify the catholic towns for damages undergone during the war; 50,000 francs for rebuilding the walls of Luzerna; 40,000 for customs' duties omitted; 25,000 for other taxes omitted; the sum necessary for repairing the fortifications of La Torre and Miraboco; &c. &c. In other words, the persecuted were required to sacrifice the last wreck of their fortune, and to indebted themselves for the future, in order to defray the expenses occasioned by the barbarities of their persecutors. Such were the indemnities demanded by Charles-Emanuel; the guarantees he required were, that at the entrance of each valley, the Vaudois should, at their own cost, erect a fortress, to be garrisoned by ducal troops, who were to be maintained at the expense of the Vaudois; that they should hold no synod without the presence of one of his officers; that the Vaudois communes should not thenceforward hold any political union, but each

manage its own affairs, without consulting the others; in other words, that they should hand themselves over to the enemy, to be destroyed in detail. The Vaudois rejecting these preposterous terms, Louis XIV. was appealed to, by common consent, as an arbitrator. The award of his most christian majesty was far more moderate than might have been expected. He decided that the Vaudois should contribute 50,000 francs towards the expenses of the war, and cede to the duke the vineyards of Luzerna, in compensation for the losses he had incurred by "the rebellion" of the protestants. Various intercessions for more favourable terms, on the part of different foreign powers, protracted the settlement of the matter, from month to month, from year to year, and at last, in 1670, the duke modifying his demands and granting new privileges, he and his Vaudois subjects came to a good understanding; and the latter, both at the siege of Genoa and at the revolt of Mondovi, did such good service to their sovereign, as to merit, on both occasions, the emphatic thanks proclaimed in the manifest form of orders of the day. On the former occasion, further, the duke wrote to the apostolic nuncio: "Were I to heed only the dictates of sound policy, I should wish the Vaudois to multiply instead of diminishing, for they are faithful, laborious, well-disposed, useful to the country," &c.

Victor-Amadeus, with whom the ducal was destined to become a regal crown, succeeded his father in 1675; and being at that time only nine years of age, the affairs of the state were administered under the regency of his mother, who, in his name, fully ratified all the rights and privileges which had been granted to the Vaudois. The independence and repose of this people seemed now established on a permanent basis; but the ways of God are not our ways, and the poor churches of the valleys, already so sorely tried, were now, in reality, more than ever in danger of annihilation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EXILE OF GIANAVELLO.—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.
COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOURTH PERSECUTION.

1680—1686.

GIANAVELLO, excepted from the amnesty, and fain to seek refuge in a foreign land, had retired to Geneva, where, in his privacy, he never ceased to apply his energetic mind to the affairs of his oppressed faith and his oppressed country.

France was, at this time, of all the states of Europe, that which weighed heaviest in the scale of their respective destinies; but the monarch of France, potent as he was in many respects, was quite as weak in others. Resolute towards terrestrial powers, he bowed beneath the power of superstition, and submitted himself, in the credulous terror of ignorance, to the iron sway of the ministers of superstition. His dissolute life, varied with fits of devotion, his haughty soul, his utter selfishness, could only be dominated by the accommodating and ambitious power of popery, which, in its turn, used him as a means of crushing liberty. The greatest enemy of superstition being the Bible, and all who appealed to the authority of that book incurring the pertinacious hostility of catholicism, the confessors of the most christian king persuaded this monarch that the most effectual mode by which he could secure at once his renown and his salvation, was the extermination of the protestants. The first proceeding of this respectable champion of popery was to set about the purchase of catholicizations; and a regular account of current expenditure and receipts—the former in money, the latter in conversions—was opened, and submitted to the king. Whole troops of vagrants turned this plan to their own account: calling themselves protestants, they would abjure by scores, in one town; having received the price of their *conversion*, they would proceed to some other town, abjure again, and receive a fresh reward; and so, from one end of France to the other, the scandalous farce proceeded, until the money available for such venal apostasy had become exhausted. Before long, however, the royal spouse of Maria-Theresa having committed another crying sin against his

marriage vow, the popish counsellors about him took advantage of the circumstance to excite a reaction of spiritual fervour in him, of which the protestant worship soon underwent the cruel effects. Twenty-one of their churches were demolished, in the Vivarais, in the single year 1680; proscriptions multiplied, the exercise of public functions was prohibited to the reformers; nay, by the ordinance of the 2nd of December, 1681, they were absolutely forbidden to practise as physicians, notaries, printers, &c., that is to say, were forbidden to make their living by the honest industry to which they had been trained.

The *dragonades* came next. Louvois, already laden with the crimes and calamities inflicted upon the Palatinate under his command, wrote to Louis XIV., with reference to the Vivarais: "We must make such desolation in that district that it may ever after operate as an example." This was not enough: in order to strike a comprehensive blow at protestantism, the edict of Nantes was revoked, 18th October, 1685. The effect of this revocation was instantaneous and terrible. A great number of French protestants transferred to foreign lands their intelligence, their information, their virtues, and their fortunes, acquired or to be acquired. This single act did more to enfeeble France than all the victories of Louis XIV. had done to strengthen her.

Hitherto, while men had interdicted the reformed worship, belief had not been interdicted. This improvement was now adopted; civil death was pronounced upon all protestants, and, of consequence, all their acts were declared null and void; their marriages were set aside, and their children born, or to be born, declared illegitimate. Whoever, having theretofore abjured, or appeared to abjure, protestantism, refused, on his or her sick-bed, the sacraments of the popish church, was drawn out on a hurdle and thrown on the wayside, if he died, or condemned to the galleys if he recovered; and whether dead or alive, his whole property became confiscated to the king.

Proceeding from bad to worse, this same king, prostrate and drivelling at the feet of his imperious confessor, Letellier, next signed an edict, by which, all protestants being, in the first clause, declared converts to catholicism, all such of these converts as refused to conform to the practice of the communion to which they were so annexed, were to be treated as *relapsed* persons; that is to say, were to be drawn out on a hurdle and thrown on the wayside, dead, or condemned to the galleys, living, their

property being, in either case, confiscated to the use of his most christian majesty.

Never had such revolting iniquities sullied even the cruel persecutions of the dukes of Savoy. Victor-Amadeus himself emphatically expressed his disapprobation. Many distinguished catholics, such as the cardinal de Noailles, Flechier, Fenelon, protested against the injury thus inflicted on the interests of France. Vauban, the great engineer, drew up a memorial, representing this involuntary exile of a hundred thousand Frenchmen as a grave political and social calamity for France; showing that the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and its attendant measures, would most materially damage commerce and trade, disorganize society, and strengthen hostile fleets with 9000 sailors, and hostile armies with 600 officers and 12,000 soldiers, among the best then in France. Hereupon "the great king" issued an *ordonnance* that whosoever should expatriate himself should be condemned to death and confiscation of goods; that is, he said to his protestant subjects: "You shall be massacred and despoiled if you stay in my kingdom, you shall be exterminated and despoiled if you quit it!" Petty great king!

On the 12th of October, 1685, Louis wrote to the marquis d'Arcy, his ambassador at Turin, informing him that he had ordered the sieur d'Harleville, governor of the French valleys of Perosa and Pragela, Cesana, Usseaux, Meano, Exili, Traversa, Salabertrans, and Bardonneche, to *convert* the valleys within his jurisdiction, "by lodging his troops,"* and desiring him to exhort the duke of Savoy, "whose ancestors had ever ill endured the exercise of the protestant religion," to adopt similar means, in his own valleys, to the same end. On the 27th of October, the marquis informed his sovereign that he had duly impressed upon the duke the extraordinarily favourable opportunity afforded by the vicinity of the French troops, for bringing the followers of the pseudo-reformed religion to reason; the duke, he said, had requested time to consider the matter, for that the enterprise thus counselled had been attempted repeatedly by his ancestors, not merely without success, but with great detriment to the state. To this, the marquis reported, he had replied that those ancestors

* All protestants, "obstinate in their heresy," were compelled to lodge, board, and pay for the soldiers, who, on their part, were directed to injure, insult, and annoy, in every conceivable and inconceivable way, those upon whom they were billeted.

had never had facilities so great as were now proffered by the most christian king, but that, of course, his royal highness "would do as he pleased in the matter; it was his interest alone that his most christian majesty thought of."

On the 10th of November, Louis XIV. again wrote to the marquis, complaining that the duke of Savoy "manifested no firm resolution to labour efficaciously at this great affair, which yet can never be brought to a successful issue by such slight attempts as those proposed by his royal highness;" urging that the duke must be made to understand that his glory was concerned in bringing his subjects, at whatever cost, to the feet of the church, and promising to aid him with any troops he might require "for the execution of so pious a design." In his reply, on the 24th of November, the marquis states that "he had renewed to the duke the offers of his most christian majesty in aid of the conversion of the Vaudois, but that his royal highness—a prince of extreme reserve and of a very independent turn—had merely repeated his thanks for the interest taken by the most christian king in his affairs." The ambassador adds: "It seems very doubtful whether the duke will adopt the measures proposed by your majesty, for when the ministers, the marquis di San Tommaso and the president de Truchsis, who both entirely concur with your majesty, have spoken to him on the subject, he has scarcely given them an answer at all." The popish counsellors of his most christian majesty were not to be thus frustrated, and, on the 7th of December, Louis again wrote to his ambassador at Turin: "So long as the duke shall suffer Huguenots to subsist on the frontiers of my state, his authority will not suffice to prevent desertion on the part of my Calvinist subjects; this, he must be clearly sensible, I shall not endure; and the insolence of these heretics exciting my irrepressible indignation, the result might be that I should no longer entertain towards him those sentiments of friendship which I have hitherto manifested. I feel assured he will seriously reflect hereupon."

The duke, apparently, did reflect seriously upon this very emphatic intimation, for, on the 31st of January, 1686, appeared the fatal edict which caused such infinite misery to the valleys, and seemed, for awhile, to have effected the complete annihilation of the Vaudois church. "Heresy," the edict set forth, "has extended from the centre of the valley of Luzerna to the heart of Piedmont. Our ancestors have often undertaken to extirpate it,

but, by means of the succours which the religionists have received from foreign countries, the holy work of their return to the Romish church has not been accomplished; and since, at present, the principal reason that existed for tolerating them has been removed, by the zeal and piety of the glorious monarch of France, who has brought to the true faith the heretics contiguous to the Vaudois valleys, we deem that his most christian majesty might accuse us of ingratitude for his signal favour, which we still enjoy, were we to let pass the opportunity of executing this important design, pursuant to the intention ever entertained by our glorious predecessors.

“Upon which grounds, and for other pressing reasons, we have, of our full authority, certain knowledge, good pleasure, and absolute power, decreed as follows:—

“I. The Vaudois shall henceforth and for ever cease and discontinue all the exercises of their religion.

“II. They are forbidden to have religious meetings, under pain of death and penalty of confiscation of all their goods.

“III. All their ancient privileges are abolished.

“IV. All the churches, prayer-houses, and other edifices, consecrated to their worship, shall be rased to the ground.

“V. All the pastors and schoolmasters of the valleys are required either to embrace catholicism or to quit the country within fifteen days, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

“VI. All the children born, or to be born, of protestant parents, shall be compulsorily trained up as Roman catholics. Every such child, yet unborn, shall, within a week after its birth, be brought to the curé of its parish, and admitted of the catholic church, under pain, on the part of the mother, of being publicly whipped with rods, and on the part of the father, of labouring five years in the galleys.

“VII. The Vaudois pastors who shall abjure the doctrine they have hitherto preached, shall receive a salary, greater by one-third than that which they previously enjoyed; and one-half thereof shall go in reversion to their widows.

“VIII. All protestant foreigners settled in Piedmont are ordered either to catholicise or to quit the country within fifteen days.

“IX. By a special act of his great and paternal clemency, the sovereign will permit all such persons to sell, in this interval, the

property they may have acquired in Piedmont, provided the sale be made to catholic purchasers."

It is impossible adequately to describe the consternation, the affliction, the indignation, created throughout the valleys by the promulgation of this monstrous edict. All the parishes immediately appointed delegates, who assembled at Angrogna, to deliberate upon the defence of the common interests. Their first proceeding was to draw up an earnest but respectful supplication to the duke, for the revocation of the edict; but all they could obtain was a brief delay in its execution. The next course was to seek the intervention of the protestant cantons of Switzerland. That generous nation, at once responding to the appeal, addressed urgent letters to the court of Turin, in favour of the Vaudois. The letters remained unanswered. Next, by an extraordinary assembly, held at Baden, 26th of February, 1686, it was resolved that special envoys should be despatched into Piedmont, for the purpose, if possible, of rescuing the Israel of the Alps from the destruction that menaced it. The ambassadors selected, Gaspard and Bernard de Murat, both councillors of state, reached Turin in the beginning of March, and solicited an audience of Victor-Amadeus: it was refused.

Meanwhile, the delay which had been granted to the Vaudois was on the point of expiration, and the urgency of the French ambassador, of the papal nuncio, and of the propaganda, grew daily more pressing upon Victor-Amadeus. Already, in their persecuting ardour, several bands of popish volunteers had commenced hostilities upon the inhabitants of the valleys, and the impatience of the French troops cantoned at Pinerolo could hardly be restrained.

The mountaineers, who numbered 3000 fighting men, and whose strength was daily increased by the accession of foreign brethren, though they prayed for peace, were quite ready to resist the foe with vigour. In the few casual skirmishes to which reference has just been made, they were victorious; and they daily occupied themselves in the organization of plans for the campaign, which were as regularly communicated to the commandant of La Torre, by a French spy, named Desmoulin, who had got among them in the character of a Dauphinese refugee. The chiefs and the pastors adopted, at the same time, a series of regulations which had been drawn up for that purpose by Gianavello, ever watchful and earnest in his retreat, and of

which the first clause presents a not uninteresting illustration:—

“Since the war that is raised up against us is an effect of the hatred against our religion, and that our sins are the cause of that hatred, it behoves every one of us to repent and to amend his life; to which end, it is expedient that the officers shall have good books read to the men in the guardhouses, and have prayers celebrated every morning and evening.”

Meantime, the Swiss envoys, having failed to effect an audience of the duke, drew up a memorial, in which, after reciting the edicts by which liberty of conscience and other rights had been guaranteed to the Vaudois, they represented that fidelity to treaties constitutes the stability of states, and their repose; that if the word of princes were not held sacred, protestant powers might treat their catholic subjects as he proposed to treat his protestant subjects; and that his own glory, his own character, humanity, justice, the prosperity of Piedmont, were all interested in his not becoming the executioner of a faithful people, of whom he was the natural protector, and whom he had promised to treat as a father.

The marquis di San Tommaso, who was entrusted with the charge of replying to this memorial, sought to throw the whole blame upon the Vaudois, as having taken up arms against their lawful sovereign. The ambassadors pointed out that it was the duke who had taken up arms against the Vaudois, not only without cause on their part, but avowedly for the purpose of suppressing their religion. “Potent engagements with France,” rejoined the minister, incautiously, “have dictated our conduct.”—“If that be so,” at once returned the envoys, “you cannot say the Vaudois are to blame, and should cease to persecute them.”—“Matters have gone too far,” said the marquis; “but if the Vaudois, to save appearances, will outwardly conform to the edict of 31st January, things may, perhaps, be arranged.”

This proposition was altogether too vague to be accepted, and the envoys accordingly rejected it. They offered, however, to go to the valleys, and see what could be done, and a safe conduct was accordingly given to them; their interposition being all the more heeded, that at this juncture, Brandenburg, Holland, and England, had also addressed fresh representations to Victor-Amadeus, in favour of his protestant subjects.

The Swiss envoys reached the valleys on 22nd March, and

immediately invited the attendance of deputies from all the Vaudois communes, to consult with them. The meeting took place at Chiasso, on 23rd March. The Swiss envoys having stated what they had done since their arrival at Turin, and being requested by the Vaudois to counsel them in this emergency, suggested that the best course would be to obtain leave to sell all they had, and quit, in a body, a country whose sovereign had manifestly resolved that they should not dwell there in peace and in liberty of conscience. "Your valleys," said the envoys, "are hemmed in by the states of your enemies; all the paths to it are guarded; there is no nation in a position to wage war with France, solely in your behalf; no succours can reach you; and you yourselves have, at the most, 3000 fighting men; you have more than 12000 mouths to feed; yet your supplies are cut off, and your every step is watched; an overpowering force awaits but the signal to massacre you. How can you resist? Rather, we implore you, transport elsewhere the torch of the gospel, of which you are the depositories, than keep it here to be extinguished in blood."

The Vaudois, who had expected other counsels, who were prepared for strife, and hoped for victory, replied that they could not consent, on behalf of their countrymen, to expatriate themselves without a struggle; and that, at all events, so grave a proposition must be decided by the whole population.

The Swiss deputies, unable to wait for this decision, returned to Turin, whence they despatched their secretary to receive the reply of the aggregate Vaudois. On the arrival of this functionary in the valleys (28th March), he found the population in a state of the greatest agitation. Even those who were willing to emigrate were fearful that the proposal to give them free egress from the valleys was merely a snare, so that while journeying forth, in isolated groups, they might be assailed and slain by the enemy. Most of the pastors were, from the outset, in favour of submission; the mass of the people, were, at first, for resistance; but, after awhile, the communes of Perosa, San Martino, Prarustino, Roccapiatta, Rora, Villaro, and La Torre, consented to submit; the communes of Bobbio, San Giovanni, and Angrogna, with a portion of La Torre, adhering to resistance. In the hope of turning this division to advantage, the enemies of the Vaudois induced Victor-Amadeus to sign (9th April) an edict, which treated the emigration of the Vaudois as

an affair quite settled and agreed upon. When this edict, however, was published (11th April) in the valleys, it augmented the excitement which already prevailed there; and three days afterwards, at a meeting of delegates from all the communes, at Roccapiatta, it was resolved, that, the conditions imposed by this edict being wholly inadmissible, all idea of submission should be abandoned, and that the Vaudois, acting as one man, should resist to the last gasp, and, relying upon the aid of Providence, defend their hearths and their altars, as their fathers had done before them.

Thus the measure which had been designed to segregate them had the effect of uniting them more compactly than ever.

On the 17th April, being Good Friday, the solemn covenant was confirmed by another meeting of delegates at Roccapiatta; and on Easter Sunday the holy communion was received by all the sons of the valleys, heroic disciples of the gospel, and resolute to defend it and themselves against vile oppressors.

It was the last communion they were to partake of before the terrible catastrophe we are about to narrate, and which for awhile effected the total dispersion of this people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MASSACRES IN THE VALLEYS.

April, 1686.

THE generous Swiss ambassadors, finding that their mediation between the two parties was useless, resolved to leave Piedmont. But, foreseeing the inevitable and approaching destruction of that Vaudois church which was so dear to them, they wrote to Frederic-William, grand elector of Brandenburg, to beg him to receive into any vacant territory within his states, a colony of Vaudois, if they should be expelled from their native country. The elector graciously replied that he would give them an asylum at all risks.

Already the combined forces of France and Piedmont were approaching the Vaudois valleys. Victor-Amadeus II. reviewed his troops in the plain of San Segonzo. His army consisted of 2586 men of the regiments of Mondovi, Barges, and Bagnolo; a corps

of Piedmontese infantry, and a regiment of horse; while the French auxiliaries were several regiments of dragoons and other cavalry; seven or eight battalions of infantry from Dauphiny; and a portion of the garrisons of Pinerolo and Casale. The signal of carnage was to be given on Easter Monday, 22nd April, by three cannon-shots, fired at dawn of day, from the hill of Bricherasio, when a general attack on the two valleys was forthwith to take place; the duke of Savoy assailing that of Luzerna, and Catinat, general-in-chief of the French auxiliaries, that of San Martino. The latter general quitted Pinerolo in the night of Easter Sunday, and, after marching two hours by torch-light, reached the village of San Germano as day was dawning. Catinat immediately sent forward a detachment of infantry under the command of lieutenant-colonel Villevielle, who took possession of the town, and drove the Vaudois from their first entrenchments; but presently the Vaudois, turning about, repulsed the aggressors. Catinat hereupon sent a detachment of horse to sustain his infantry; the fighting extended along the whole line, and lasted for ten consecutive hours. The French infantry grew weary, and the cavalry could not operate with any effect on slopes covered with brushwood, and so pertinaciously defended by the mountaineers; and at length the latter, finding the fire of the enemy slacken, made, all at once, a *sortie* so impetuous, that the French, surprised and driven in, turned, fled, and were chased out of the territory to the left bank of the Clusone. More than 500 of the enemy were killed or wounded in this engagement, while the Vaudois lost only two men. Villevielle himself, with thirty men, made his way to the protestant church of San Germano, where he gallantly defended himself till the evening, against a series of energetic attacks, directed by Henry Arnaud, who, at first a Dauphinese pastor, had emigrated to the valleys from the tyranny of Louis XIV., and was, at this juncture, at once a pastor and a captain of the Vaudois. At night, a detachment of troops from Pinerolo rescued the gallant French officer from his perilous position.

Meanwhile, Catinat had marched to Perosa. There he distributed his forces into two divisions; the first of which, under the command of Melac, penetrating the valley of Pragela, by Salvage, turned the heights of Pomaretto, while the second, led by Catinat himself, was directed towards Les Clots. The next day, 23rd of April, this general attacked Rioclarreto, opposite the position he had thus taken.

All the inhabitants of the valley of St. Martino had declared, four days before, that they were willing to avail themselves of the edict of the 9th of April, and to lay down their arms. But Victor-Amadeus was not made acquainted with their resolution till the evening before the battle; he then refused to accept it, declaring it came too late. His troops were already in possession of the approaches to the valleys; the envoy sent by that of San Martino could not return thither. The inhabitants of this district were ignorant of the duke's answer; they trusted to the articles of the edict, and, not expecting an attack, they had made no preparations for defending themselves. The army of Catinat surprised them, thus unprepared, cut them to pieces, and spread over the valley, killing, burning, pillaging. Six families who were made prisoners, and were sent to Perosa, were basely massacred on their arrival there. Two young girls of Villa-Secca were slain in their resistance to the outrages of the soldiers: the latter glutted on their dead bodies the brutality of which they had not been able to render them the victims while living.

Giovanni Ribeto, of Macelo, had his limbs burned off in succession, as he successively refused the injunctions to abjure which were made to him in the intervals of his tortures.

At the hamlet of Fontane, near Rodoreto, four women were seized as they were fleeing with their infants; the hapless babes were dashed ruthlessly to the ground, and the still more hapless mothers outraged till they died on the dead bodies of their children.

In all directions the horrors of 1655 were renewed, with even aggravated atrocities. Husbandmen were fastened to the end of the ploughshare, and dug into the earth they were tilling. Others were hurled from precipices on to the rugged points below; others torn in pieces by horses; others tortured to death by mutilations too monstrous to be described.

After having thus devastated the valley of San Martino, Catinat left a few troops there, and marched on to Pramolo.

Melac, who joined him there, had perpetrated at Pomareto horrors of the same atrocious character; and on his way he had absolutely, at the pike's point, compelled the outraged Vaudois women and girls, whom he had taken prisoners, to march naked, at the head of his troops, in order to guide them on their way.

The combined forces of Melac and Catinat encamped on the basin of Pramolo, at the hamlet of La Rua, over-against that of

Pemiano. The latter was occupied by 1500 Vaudois, the inhabitants of the locality, augmented by the men of San Germano, who had so valiantly resisted the first attack of the enemy; so that the protestants were in a condition once more to resist, and, perhaps, once more effectually. Seeing this, the enemy recurred to treachery, a weapon at which the papists are peculiarly expert; and Catinat sent word to the Vaudois that the inhabitants of the valley of Luzerna had laid down their arms, had waited on Victor-Amadeus, and had been received by him into his full grace, which he was equally ready to accord to all his Vaudois subjects who would take the same course. The Vaudois, hereupon, sent two envoys to the French general, to receive from his own mouth the confirmation of this news and of this promise. Soldierly honour revolted not in the breast of this soldier against a deliberate lie: "Lay down your arms," he said, "and all is pardoned."

The Vaudois, true themselves, believed in the truth of others: they laid down their arms, and received the French regiment, who the next morning entered Pemiano, without distrust. The officer in command of the regiment, captain St. Pierre, then assembled the men of the place, informed them that the duke had been informed of their submission, and was waiting to receive them graciously. They at once departed, under escort, to receive from their sovereign the promised grace; and the defenders thus removed, and none of the Vaudois being left in the place but women, children, and aged people, the soldiers of Catinat rushed like wild beasts upon this inoffensive multitude, massacring some, torturing others, despoiling all; and as to the women and young girls, subjecting them to atrocities so brutal, that the pen refuses to describe them. The children were taken away, and distributed among the monasteries and convents of Piedmont, or with popish families. Their fathers, who had gone to the camp of Victor-Amadeus to make their submission, were cast into the dungeons of Luzerna, Cavour, and Villafranca, where many of them died of privation, grief, and sickness.

But popery was triumphant: treason had served it; half the population of the valleys was massacred or imprisoned; carnage had done its work; and what remained of the Israel of the Alps was destined to be of short duration. The Te Deums of St. Bartholomew were soon to be heard once again.

Victor-Amadeus had remained in the plain which forms the

entrance to the valley of Luzerna, towards La Torre and Rora. It was there, at a later period, after the wonderful return of the Vaudois to their country, that this prince, vanquished and a fugitive in his turn, came to seek an asylum among the same mountaineers whom now he was using his utmost efforts to destroy or exile.

His uncle, Gabriel of Savoy, advanced towards the heights of Angrogna. His line of operations extended from Bricherasio to San Giovanni, while the Vaudois occupied, on the summit of the hills of Le Cotière, a series of posts above and parallel with them. On the 22nd of April, Don Gabriel made a simultaneous attack on these posts, from all sides. The Vaudois fought the whole day. On the approach of night, the bivouac fires were lighted on both sides. This girdle of fire environed the mountain at about a third of its height. Serres and Castelluzzo belonged to the enemy, Roccamanante and Le Porte d'Angrogna were in the hands of the Vaudois.

On the 23rd of April the battle was resumed. The Vaudois retired towards the crest of the mountain, in good order, and fighting incessantly the whole day. Towards the evening they encamped all together, at the foot of La Vachera, and fortified their position with entrenchments of rocks and earth. Next morning, Gabriel of Savoy was informed of the surrender of the Vaudois of Pramolo, who had trusted themselves into the hands of their foes, and whose defenceless families had been massacred.

He immediately resolved to employ the same means against his opponents, and sent word to them that their co-religionists of the valley of San Martino having laid down their arms, and obtained grace, he advised them to follow this example, to avoid greater evils; for if they did not surrender, the French troops, who were in possession of the valley of San Martino, and that of Pramolo, would take them in the rear, and they would be inevitably crushed.

The Vaudois of Val Luzerna, entrenched at the foot of La Vachera, were amazed at this intelligence, and, in their turn, sent envoys to Gabriel of Savoy, who confirmed the news, and sent them back a despatch, signed by himself, which ran thus:—"Do not hesitate to lay down your arms; be assured that, in submitting yourselves to the clemency of his royal highness, he will receive you favourably, and that he will not injure your persons, nor those of your wives and children."



CAVERN OF CASTELLUZZO.

A promise so formal, and signed by a royal hand, it seemed unreasonable to doubt; but the Vaudois should have borne in mind that the hand so signing was also a popish hand, taught to trace, without a shudder, whatever atrocities a priest might dictate.

The Vaudois, however, put faith in Don Gabriel, and, that very evening, opening their entrenchments to him, placed themselves, without arms and without distrust, amidst his troops. The latter immediately, under pretext of friendly conversation, got around them, then seized them, and, binding them like criminals, dragged them to Luzerna, where they were thrown into the dungeons, already half filled with betrayed Vaudois.

Thus, almost without striking a blow, the enemy gained possession of these formidable valleys, where the Vaudois had posts so advantageous, and entrenchments so strong, that, as a popish writer of the time admits, they might have maintained themselves there for ten years. But treachery had immured the male defenders of this sanctuary and of the gospel in the dungeons of popedom, and imprisoned their children in its monasteries and its nunneries; their outraged wives and daughters, their helpless parents, were massacred; their houses were despoiled and burned, their fields devastated.

In the valley of Luzerna, Victor-Amadeus himself attacked two posts of Vaudois, who were covering the entrance to Pradel-Tor and the road to Villaro. The fight continuing till evening, without any result, the same stratagem was resorted to by the papists which had succeeded so well at La Vachera and Pemiano: upon the solemn assurance of the Piedmontese chiefs that the duke, who was at hand, would receive them into favour, on their laying down their arms, "as he had already received into favour their brethren of Angrogna and La Vachera," many of the Vaudois surrendered, and were at once sent to join their brethren in the dungeons of the duke; while those who would not surrender, finding their numbers so fearfully reduced by stratagem or surprise, abandoned their posts, and withdrew to Bobbio, the last village of any importance in the valley that remained to the protestants. Here, after repulsing several separate attacks, they were surrounded, on the 13th of May, by the entire army of Victor-Amadeus and his French allies, and, finding themselves unable to withstand this immense force, they cut their way through the enemy's lines, and dispersed amid the depths of

La Sarcena and Garino. The popish troopers then proceeded to the work, in which they were so skilled, of massacre, outrage, spoliation, and incendiarism. Two sisters, Anna and Madalena Vittoria, after undergoing indescribable brutalities, were burned alive in the shed which had been the scene of their dishonour. Daniel Pellenc was flayed alive, and then, a huge stone being laid upon his prostrate and palpitating body, was left to die in agony. One poor woman, who had taken refuge in a cavern, where a goat supplied her with the nourishment which she, in her turn, communicated to her baby, was surprised by the soldiers; the infant was thrown down the abyss, on the rocks below; the mother was dragged before the marquis de Benil, colonel of the regiment of Savoy, and interrogated as to the place where her co-religionists had retired. She would give no answer. To make her speak, the soldiers crushed her fingers between iron bars; this producing no effect, the heroic defenders of the Roman-catholic faith broke her legs, and, having violently tied her heels to her neck, rolled her down into the gulf where they had just before cast her infant. Daniel Mondon, one of the elders of Rora, was compelled to witness the decapitation of his two sons, the eventration of his daughter-in-law, and the massacre of her four children; he was then driven at the pike's point, his sons' heads and the bleeding remains of his daughter-in-law being suspended round his neck, to Luzerna, where he was hanged.

"All the valleys are wasted, all the inhabitants killed, hanged, or massacred." So wrote, on the 26th of May, 1686, a French officer in the army of Catinat; and the destruction of the Vaudois churches seemed, indeed, at length accomplished. More than 1000 persons had been massacred, more than 6000 lay in prison, and 2000 children, torn from their parents, were immured in various popish establishments. All the Vaudois, dead or alive, had been declared guilty of high treason, and their property, of whatever description, confiscate to the state. Nothing seemed to remain for the valleys but the silence of death and desolation.

It was from this very desperation of circumstances that the remnant of the Vaudois derived fresh courage. No sooner had their most formidable enemies—the French troops and the militia of Mondovi—withdrawn altogether, and the Piedmontese army partially, than, from the depths of the woods and ravines, and from the heights of the craggiest rocks, there crept forth men

worn with fatigue and privation, but resolute in their faith and in their patriotism, who, by degrees collecting together on Mont Beces, numbered in all eighty men, with whom were a few women and some children. We know not the names, nor the leader, of this small band, destined, by their heroic valour, to emancipate from prison their betrayed countrymen, to recover their confiscated property, and to obtain for them and for themselves an honourable retreat, with baggage and arms, to a foreign land.

Animated with the spirit of Gianavello, and aided by the hand of God, these last defenders of the valleys fell like a thunderbolt on the persecutors who supposed them all exterminated, defeated successively the garrisons of Villaro, La Torre, Luzerna, and San Segonzo, seized a large convoy of ammunition and provisions on its way to Pinerolo, and, then, returning to the mountains, multiplied their numbers by their activity, their strength by their valour, their power by the fear they inspired, and their chances of safety by the incessant losses to which they subjected the enemy.

Unforeseen in attack, unattainable in retreat, they would fall suddenly on some heedless post, some sleeping cantonment, fire the buildings or the tents, slay numbers of the enemy, and then retreat ere the survivors had time even to look at their assailants; or, in the middle of the night, they would assail some village in the plain, set fire to the outskirts, and menace the entire conflagration of the place, unless a heavy ransom was paid. The marquis de Parelles and Gabriel of Savoy marched against these desperate guerillas, but to no purpose, and, after having undergone two defeats, the Piedmontese generals offered to the Vaudois free egress to any foreign country they might select, if they would consent to retire. The offer was accepted; but only on condition that all the Vaudois who were detained in prison should be released, and included in the concession. Further, these hardy mountaineers stipulated that, in their retreat to a foreign land, each division of exiles should be accompanied by an officer of the royal guard, by way of hostage; and, moreover, that, to the frontiers of Savoy, the cost of journey should be defrayed by Victor-Amadeus. After some hesitation these terms were accorded: it was agreed that the prisoners should be released, and have free egress from the country, and it was further conceded that all the Vaudois should be at liberty to dispose of their goods. But as to these goods, the far greater portion had been a

prey to pillage and incendiarism; and as to the prisoners, so many of them had died, under their sufferings in the popish dungeons, that, altogether, of the 15,000 Vaudois who constituted the protestant population of the valleys but a few months before, only 2600 remained to avail themselves of the liberty of exile now granted to them.

Arrangements having been meanwhile made with the Swiss protestant cantons for the reception of the exiles within their territory, the two first detachments, consisting of the men whose valour had procured from the court of Savoy the concession upon which they were acting, arrived at Geneva, on the 25th of November, 1686, in number eighty persons, men, women, and children. On the 3rd of December, the Vaudois prisoners at Turin were released, and despatched on their way to Switzerland; and on the 3rd of January, 1687, they were followed by the remainder of their countrymen; but not without the interposition of infinite impediments on the part of the propaganda, furious at seeing so many heretics escape its fangs, and on the part also of many of the Roman-catholic gentry, with whom proselytism had become a matter of fashion, so that, according to a despatch of the Swiss commissioners in March, 1687, "there was no carriage but had its *barbet* (a term of contempt applied to the Vaudois, from their *barbas*) behind it, or even two of them, distinguished by their caps à *la dragonne*."

The numerous Vaudois whom persecution in their dungeons had induced to catholicize, were not permitted to return to their valleys, but detained in prison for some days after the departure of their countrymen, that they might not join them in their exile. They were deported to the marshy plains of Vercelli, where they were ordered to remain, under penalty of ten years' labour in the galleys, and where great numbers of them speedily died of typhus fever. Any of them who should presume to set foot in the valleys was to be punished with death.

The total number of Vaudois, men, women, and children, who reached Geneva—for hundreds died of the effects of their ill treatment in prison, of cold and hunger, on their way—was 2656. Their reception was most generous; one-half of the population of Geneva, headed by the patriot Gianavello, came to meet them at the Arve, the confine-river of their sublime territory, and there competed with each other who should receive, within his hospitable dwelling, the greatest number of the exiles. Of

the third band of Vaudois, one party, in especial, aroused the interest, the enthusiasm of the Genevese—a patriarchal barba, ninety-six years old, who, heading a tribe of seventy-two children and grandchildren, revived the imposing image of those biblical migrations, which the constant study of the Bible had rendered so familiar to protestants.

The numbers thus arriving at Geneva could not, of course, be all entertained in that city; some were distributed among the other protestant communities of Switzerland, some were conveyed to Brandenburg, some to Wurtemberg, some to Holland, and thence to America; but all who had the choice remained in Geneva, to be near those beloved valleys, which all cherished the hope and the expectation one day to recover.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GLORIOUS RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER ARNAUD.

1689.

THE Vaudois, such of them, at least, as were not still retained in prison, among whom were all the ministers, having quitted the valleys, it became a question how these valleys should be re-peopled. It was at first proposed to settle on them the Irish exiles, who were leading a vagrant life in Montferrat, but there was more than one objection to this plan; first, the idleness of these islanders, by whose neglect these districts, once so flourishing, would soon become barren and waste; secondly, the superior advantage of selling the lands. It was determined, therefore, that they should be put up to auction, and that what remained unsold should be let. The richest properties were added to the private domain of Victor-Amadeus; and others given to his officers. Many catholicized Vaudois were permitted to remain for a few months on their lands; but ultimately the sale of the confiscated property began on the 15th July, 1689. Some were purchased by individuals, but most by companies formed for the speculation at Susa, Chambery, Saluzzo, and other places. The whole territory of Angrogna was sold in one lot; that of Bobbio was bought by bidders from Susa, for 44,000 francs; that of Villaro, by a company of ten persons at Saluzzo. Generally

speaking, the preference was given to Savoyards, who, coming from a mountainous and over-peopled country, presented, in both circumstances, greater probabilities of their introducing competent labourers, and plenty of them, into the country. But the expectation was by no means realized; so that when the Vaudois themselves returned home, they found their valleys in almost the same depopulated and devastated condition that they had left it in.

These Vaudois themselves, meanwhile, repulsed from Wurtemberg by the policy of its rulers, willing to favour the protestants, yet still more anxious to avoid a collision with their persecutors—repulsed from the palatinate by the dragoons of Louvois—repulsed from Brandenburg by the ill-will of the population—wandering about on the banks of the Rhine and in the mountains of Switzerland, an unwilling burden upon their co-religionists there,—had resolved to attempt the recovery of their valleys, not simply as a means of subsistence, or as a satisfaction of patriotism, but as a duty of conscience. It seemed, indeed, under the circumstances, utterly improbable that this scattered remnant should rally under a leader of their own, and march, sword in hand, for the recovery of their possessions; but Henri Arnaud thought otherwise. Patriotic, ardent, and enthusiastic, (writes Mr. Gilly,) his love for his native valleys would not suffer him to be happy in a foreign land, his courage would hear of no obstacles, and his warm imagination represented the arm of God as lifted up to succour the holy undertaking. *Lux lucet in tenebris*, “the light shineth in darkness,” was the motto of his community, and the words which were ever in his mouth. He thought he saw the cloud which was to go before him by day, and the pillar of fire which was to give him light by night, and he was incessant in his importunities, until he had communicated his own martial spirit to a few faithful friends, and had girt on what he called the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, which he solemnly swore never to resign, until the cross should be torn down from the altars of the thirteen sanctuaries, which, until this fatal epoch, had never been so idolatrously decorated. In a short time his little troop was increased to upwards of eight hundred daring adventurers, whom he had persuaded to join his standard, from different parts of Germany and Switzerland.

They were obliged to meet in secret, and their nocturnal assemblies were held in the dark retreats of a forest, which then

spread over a long tract of country between Nion and Rolle, and extended down to the edge of the lake of Geneva.

On the night of Friday, the 16th August, 1689, Arnaud had completed all his preparations ; and, putting himself at the head of his men, he seized some boats on the coast, and crossed the lake. Yvoire, in Savoy, was their place of landing, and they would have had to encounter an enemy at the first village through which they passed, if they had not wisely taken two persons of some distinction, as hostages for their safe conduct through this part of the country. The route, for the first two or three days, was by passes to which they were perfect strangers, but their hostages were answerable for the fidelity of the guides. On the second day, however, they were nearly betrayed, in spite of all their precautions. The inhabitants of Cluses, on the Arve, at first refused to give them a passage through the town, and afterwards despatched a messenger to Sallanches, with instructions for the people of that city to attack the Vaudois in the narrow defile of Maglan, while they themselves would assail them in the rear. Most providentially the treacherous scheme was discovered in time, and no other vengeance was taken than to carry off two more hostages from Cluses. The tremendous pass of Maglan, where a few peasants, armed with stones, might stop the progress of a whole army, was cleared before the troops of Sallanches had notice of this extraordinary march; and though it rained torrents the whole day, the eight hundred reached Cablau before they halted for the night.

It took them two days only to surmount the difficulties of the Montagne de Haut Luce, and that of the Bon Homme. The latter is a chain of the Allée Blanche, and forms part of the Graian Alps. After descending from these snow-covered heights, they followed the course of the mountain torrent called Reclus, and penetrated, through a woody ravine, into the plain of Scez, where they encamped on the fourth evening. It was on this day's march that they passed by the large rock of Gypsum, which stands at the entrance of the defile that leads to Scez, and is well known as La Roche Blanche, which is supposed to be the celebrated white rock on which Hannibal spent the night, after the furious attack which was made upon him by the barbarians.

On the 21st August, the protestant heroes traversed the valley of the Isere ; and though they expected to find this one of the most perilous of their journeys, yet they arrived at Laval in

safety. Nothing can be more fertile, or better cultivated, than this lovely valley, which presents some of the finest Alpine scenery to the eye that is to be met with in Savoy: it was not, therefore, from the difficulty of the passes, or the scarcity of provisions, that Arnaud's troop apprehended interruption; but from the hostility of the inhabitants. The population is numerous on each side of the river; and it was never satisfactorily explained, why the eight hundred were permitted, not only to traverse the valley of the Isere, but also to cross Mont Iseran, and the still more formidable Mont Cenis, without any well-ordered attempt to stop their progress; for by this time the object of their march was well known at Turin. A few skirmishers was all they had to encounter; and it was not before the eighth day of their enterprise that they first came in conflict with any large body of regular troops.

To avoid the garrison of Susa, it was determined to proceed along the banks of the Doire, or Dora, at the foot of the Col d'Albin, which closes in upon the river, and leaves a pass, which is barely practicable at places even for troops who have no enemy in front. The narrowest part of the defile is near Salabertrand, where a bridge is thrown over the Dora. At this point the Vaudois found their passage disputed by 2500 French, who summoned them to surrender at discretion. The superiority of numbers against them was fearfully great; the garrison at Susa were prepared to act against them, if they retreated; and, hemmed in by the rocks on one side, and the river on the other, the little band had no alternative but to advance.

Having first reconnoitred, to discover if there was any ambuscade, the Vaudois advanced towards the bridge. Some of the enemy, who were entrenched on the other side, called out, *Qui vive?* to which the Vaudois replied, very sincerely, *Amis*; intending to remain so, if they had been suffered to pass without interruption. But the French did not desire to be friends upon these terms; and shouted, "Kill them, kill them!" A firing then commenced, which lasted a quarter of an hour, during which more than two thousand shots were discharged; but Arnaud having ordered his men to lie down flat upon their faces, there was but one of them wounded. A Savoyard gentleman, one of the hostages, declared that he had never seen so terrible a firing take so little effect: and, what was more remarkable, Arnaud, Captain Mondon, of Bobbio, and two other refugees, were not

only obliged to expose themselves to it, but held in check two companies, who attempted to charge the Vaudois in the rear. The Vaudois, finding themselves thus placed between two fires, saw that no time was to be lost, and that everything would depend upon the promptitude of the moment. At this critical juncture, a voice exclaimed, "Courage, the bridge is gained!" In an instant, the men rose up, and rushed forward, some sword in hand, and others with bayonets fixed. The bridge was carried; and with such impetuosity did the assailants advance to force the entrenchments, that they were at the very muzzles of the guns, and cut many of the enemy down, before they could fire at them. Never was so violent a shock. The sabres of the Vaudois shivered the swords of the French to pieces.

The victory was so glorious and decisive, that monsieur the marquis de Larrey, who commanded, and was dangerously wounded in the arm, cried out, blaspheming in the usual French style, "Is it possible that I have lost the battle, and my own honour!" Seeing that there was no remedy, he added, *Sauve qui peut*, and then fled, with several wounded officers, to Briançon; but not considering himself safe even there, he was conveyed, in a litter, to Embrun.

The conflict lasted two hours; and the enemy were so completely routed, that many of them, finding themselves intermixed pell-mell among the Vaudois, hoped to escape by being mistaken for them; but they were all put to the sword. The field of battle was covered with the dead. Several companies were reduced to seven or eight men, without any officers. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the Vaudois; and when the moon rose that evening, not an enemy was to be seen.

The exiles might have re-established themselves at once among the fastnesses of the valley of San Martino, but these brave men were not satisfied with a secure retreat; they resolved to dispossess the Roman catholics, and to restore their brethren to their lands and habitations, or to perish in the attempt. The valley of Luzerna was occupied in great force by French and Piedmontese troops, a detachment of whom was ordered to seize the passes of the Col di Giuliano, and to prevent Arnaud's approach on that side of the valley. But nothing could check his impetuous attack. The heights were carried with scarcely any loss on the part of the Vaudois; and the enemy were pursued from one summit to another, till they retreated into the vale

of Bobbio, and took shelter in that village. Bobbio was, at this time, in the hands of the papists, to whom the confiscated property of the protestants had been assigned. It was taken by storm, and pillaged by the exasperated exiles, who, upon this occasion, lost sight of the moderation by which they had hitherto been governed.

After these successes, the gallant patriots took an oath of fidelity to each other, and celebrated divine service in one of their own churches, for the first time since their banishment. The enthusiasm of the moment was irrepressible; they chanted the 74th Psalm to the clash of arms; and Henri Arnaud, mounting the pulpit with a sword in one hand and a Bible in the other, preached from the 129th Psalm; and once more declared, in the face of heaven, that he would never resume his pastoral office in patience and peace, until he should witness the restoration of his brethren to their ancient and rightful settlements.

Encouraged by their success at Bobbio, the Vaudois marched against Villaro, where there was a strong garrison, and pressed the enemy so hard, as to force them to retire within the walls of a convent; but while they were investing the convent, a strong reinforcement arrived from Pinerolo, relieved the blockade, and obliged the protestants to abandon the valley of Luzerna, and to retire among the strongholds of the valley of San Martino. This was on the twenty-second day after their landing at Yvoire; and the detachments, both of French and Piedmontese, who were sent in pursuit, carried such devastation with them, that, for a time, all supplies of provisions were cut off; and, for several days, they had nothing to subsist upon but fruit and vegetables. The warfare now assumed a more extraordinary turn than ever. The eight hundred had to maintain their ground against brigades sent against them, by the French king on one side, and the duke of Savoy on the other; it was no longer a detached force, but a well-appointed army, with which they had now to contend. The rocky and barren district of San Martino afforded them no resources; the defiles that led into the more fertile valleys were in the hands of the enemy: famine, fire, and sword menaced them in every direction, yet they refused to surrender. Even the fastnesses which, in former persecutions, protected their fathers, were untenable for any length of time, from want of provisions. Scarcely had they taken up a position before they were obliged to abandon it, in search of supplies;

and it is an extraordinary fact, that for several weeks they had neither food nor ammunition, but what they took from the enemy.

Under these circumstances, it was impossible that the little band should concentrate its force, or remain together. It was obliged to separate, and to act in detached parties. Engagements were therefore taking place, almost every day, in different quarters of the valley; the enemy never knew where they would be attacked next, and at length were so intimidated, that a whole company would fly at the sound of a single Vaudois fusil. The Vaudois have always been good marksmen, and, upon this occasion, they exercised their skill most successfully. From the summit of a mountain, from the top of a crag, or from behind a rock or tree, a marksman would frequently take his stand, and deliberately fire several shots before he could be dislodged; or, knowing every pass and defile, a few of them would make a detour, and pour in a volley upon a bivouacing party of their adversaries, which never failed of causing dreadful slaughter and consternation.

One great thing in favour of this intrepid force was, that they had no women nor children to encumber them, for these were still in Switzerland; there was nothing to check the most perfect freedom of their movements, no strong places to attack or defend—for what were strong places to them? They could fall upon their enemy as they pleased, and when they pleased; and if too hardly pressed, they had a secure retreat in their mountains, from which they could sally forth at a more favourable opportunity. They were neither to be beaten by force, nor baffled by cunning. The enemy would, as they thought, surround them. Every possible means of escape seemed cut off; but their intimate knowledge of the mountains, and fearless habits, would enable them to march off by paths which were either unsuspected by the enemy, or considered as utterly impracticable.

As the winter set in, the hardships and deprivations of these poor men increased; without any shelter for several nights together, worn down by constant fatigue, and half-famished for want of food, it is wonderful how they supported their courage. We find them one day at Prali, on the second taking Perrero by storm, and the day afterwards surprising Pomareto. We read of them as being at the last-mentioned place on the 26th day of the

month, and on the 29th attacking and defeating 500 of the Piedmontese at Angrogna.

There was one fortress which was deemed quite impregnable, and this the Vaudois succeeded in supplying with provisions. It was that of Baceglia, situated in front of one of the defiles that conduct into the valley of San Martino, and near the source of a mountain-stream which flows into the Germanasca. Just at the point where the craggy sides of the Guignivert, the highest ridge of this chain of Alps, slope down towards the foot of the Col del Pis (a lofty mountain, which prevents all access from the side of Pragela), a rampart of rock stands at the entrance of the pass, and forms of itself a barrier, which requires but little art to render it secure against any force that can be brought against it. The highest part of this rock rises as steep as a wall, and has three stages, or terraces, surmounted by a sort of natural platform. Upon this platform stood a tower, and in the sides of the rock which rose above each terrace, caverns were hollowed out to serve for barracks. Three fountains supplied the fortress with water, and there was no approaching it with any probability of success, but from the side where the stream gushes from the mountain. Numberless assaults were made by the enemy upon this position, but nothing could dislodge the little garrison to whose charge it was confided. When they were most pressed, a messenger from the fort was despatched to Prali, and a detachment from their comrades made an unexpected attack upon the French, in the rear, while they themselves sallied from their bulwarks, and caused an incredible slaughter.

One more attack, made by Catinat with all his forces, was repelled; and the general, resolved not to lose his chance of the *baton* of marshal, from being again defeated by a handful of mountaineers, delegated the further siege of Baceglia to the marquis de Feuguères, who, on the 14th May, 1690, succeeded in battering down the bastions of the fortress. The French army then mounted to the assault, assured of taking the besieged prisoners; but a thick fog, which arose at this juncture, enabled the Vaudois to make their escape, under the guidance of captain Poulat, a native of the place, along the edge of precipices never before trodden by the foot of men, and along which they were compelled to creep on their hands and knees: the path was so perilous, that men accustomed to climb the most frightful rocks

shuddered when they returned to the spot afterwards, and saw the danger they had escaped. "He who has not seen such paths as these," says Arnaud, in his narrative of this nocturnal retreat, "cannot conceive the danger of them, and will be inclined to consider my account of the march a mere fiction. But it is strictly true; and, I must add, the place is so frightful, that even some of the Vaudois themselves were terror-struck, when they saw, by daylight, the nature of the spot which they had passed in the dark."

From precipice to precipice, the Vaudois attained the Val d'Angrogna, and it was there that they learned the strange vicissitude which had occurred to crown their hopes.

A rupture had taken place between Louis XIV. and Victor-Amadeus: each was anxious to conciliate the Vaudois, and to secure the services of the gallant band who had maintained their ground so manfully in the valley of San Martino, and great offers were made by both parties. Always loyal, the protestants turned a deaf ear to every proposal but that which came from their own sovereign. A treaty was effected, a general amnesty was proclaimed, the exiles and their families were invited to return home, and an order published, that their lands and houses should be immediately restored, and their churches reopened for protestant worship.

The quaint style in which Boyer's* translator relates the termination of the war, and his reflections upon the subject, will not be considered uninteresting. "The duke of Savoy being forced to break with France, by reason of the hardships that were imposed upon him, this rupture was the cause of the liberty and deliverance of the Vaudois: for having understood that the king of France did solicit them to embrace his part, with offers of re-establishing them in the valleys, and giving them liberty of conscience, with free and public exercise of their religion, which would have been very prejudicial to his interest; for, instead of one enemy, he would have had two upon his back, and would have been deprived of the succours that the protestant princes promised the Vaudois, and of the considerable service that they might do him, in keeping the passes, and in hindering the communication of the troops that were in the Delphinat, with the army commanded by monsieur Catinat; this prince resolved to

* Boyer's and Arnaud's accounts were published soon after the events took place, and were never contradicted.

draw them to his own party. And, to this effect, he set at liberty all the Vaudois that were in prison, as well ministers as others. He sent an act of oblivion to all those that were in arms in the valleys; and gave to those that were in foreign countries leave to come home, with necessary passports, with orders to all to turn their arms against the French, whom they must look upon as their true persecutors, and the cause of all their miseries.

"He made be brought before him all those that were prisoners at Turin, and told them that he was touched with a deep sense of their miseries; and commanded them, in his presence, to be clothed, and to be furnished with all things necessary. He excused himself that he had handled them so roughly; and cast all upon the king of France, as the true author of all that had befallen them; and because the number of the Vaudois was so much diminished that there were scarce two thousand left, after the last persecution, the duke of Savoy made proclamation, that all those protestants that were fled out of France, that would come and dwell in the valleys, and join themselves with the Vaudois, might do it, and be safe under his protection, and have necessary passports. He ordered, likewise, that at their entrance into Savoy, both the Vaudois and the French should be furnished with arms, and all things necessary for to pass into the valleys; which was punctually put into execution.

"The return of the Vaudois into their country, their entrance into their valleys, and their subsisting there for eight months, are so many wonders and miracles. Is it not a miracle that eight or nine hundred men should undertake to cross an enemy's country of fourteen or fifteen days' journey, where they must climb up high mountains, force divers strait passes, where an hundred might not only stop, but beat three thousand? And that which is most astonishing is, that these passes were guarded with great numbers, and more expert soldiers than the Vaudois; they, notwithstanding, forced all those passes with their swords in their hands, and routed them that guarded them, killing a great number in gaining them, with very little loss on their side.

"It is likewise another miracle, that they got into the valleys the entrances being so difficult, being peopled with Roman catholics, who might have hindered their entrance, being more

in number than they; or at least they might have possessed themselves of the most advantageous posts which were in the mountains, and defend themselves easily, till the succours from France and Savoy, which were in readiness, could come and second them; but a dreadful fright from God fell upon them, so that they had no courage nor conduct to defend themselves against the Vaudois, who, without any trouble or resistance, chased them out of the valleys.

"Is it not likewise a great miracle that a handful of people, without any commanders experienced in warlike affairs, should subsist eight months in the valleys, and fight nine or ten battles against the army of France and Savoy, who were sometimes twenty, but oftener thirty, against one, without being able to drive them out of their fastnesses, having killed more than two thousand of their enemies? So many happy successes make it clear that the God of battles inspired them with the generous courage of returning into their own country, to kindle again the candle of his word, that the emissaries of Satan had extinguished there; that he marched before them, and fought for them, without which it had been impossible to have forced so many difficult passes, and gained such signal victories.

"The conduct of God in the re-establishment of the Vaudois is admirable, and makes it evident that his divine providence has judgment and ways incomprehensible, surpassing all human understanding."

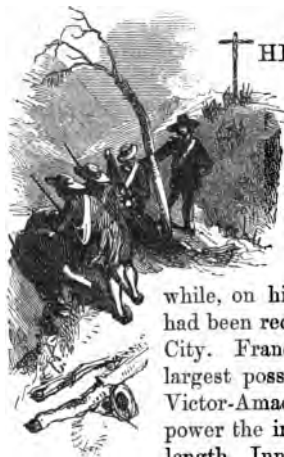
All the Vaudois who arrived from their foreign asylums were incorporated in the Vaudois regiment which William III. of England, the ally of Victor-Amadeus, raised at his own expense, and placed at the disposal of the duke in the common interest of the allies. Throughout the remainder of the year, it was the Vaudois of this regiment, and their co-religionists, who were mainly instrumental in saving the duke of Savoy from being utterly overwhelmed by the forces of France; and even after the arrival of prince Eugene to the succour of the duke, the Vaudois still continued to be the most effectual strength of their sovereign. In June, 1692, accordingly, though still more to secure their earnest co-operation in the campaign then planned by Victor-Amadeus, the duke of Schomberg, and prince Eugene, against Louis XIV. in his own territories, the duke issued a decree by which he granted to the Vaudois full amnesty for all their past offences,

of whatsoever kind, the complete restoration of all their rights and privileges, and of all their lands and goods, and unconditional licence to exercise their religion, and for such as had catholicized on compulsion to revert to their former faith. This edict was renewed in March, 1694, after another campaign, in which the Vaudois had taken a distinguished share, had been operated.

On the 4th of July, 1696, the duke of Savoy detached himself from the league which had been acting against France, and made an alliance with that power, under the terms of which all the fortresses that had been taken from him were restored, and his eldest daughter, Marie-Adelaide, was married to the duke of Burgundy, being the fifteenth direct alliance that the house of Savoy had contracted with that of France. On the 5th of November, 1696, Victor-Amadeus, who, a few weeks before, had been generalissimo of the coalition against France, was nominated generalissimo of the French army opposed to the coalition.

CHAPTER XXX.

PROTEST OF THE COURT OF ROME AGAINST THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE VAUDOIS.—RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH.—FRESH EDICT OF EXPULSION.



HE edict of rehabilitation which the duke of Savoy had issued in 1694, in favour of "his faithful subjects of the Vaudois valleys," had excited great indignation at the court of Rome; and it was said that the pope's nuncio at Turin had been ordered to protest against the concession, and then to return home, while, on his part, the duke's envoy at Rome had been requested to withdraw from the Eternal City. France, on her part, anxious to create the largest possible amount of antagonism against Victor-Amadeus, had augmented to her utmost power the irritation of the court of Rome. At length, Innocent XII., the same pontiff who had not long before granted liberty of conscience to the inhabitants of Civita Vecchia, in order to attract commerce to that port, denounced the edict of restoration to the holy office, to be examined, or, in other words, condemned. The tribunal of the Inquisition assembled in the presence of the pope, and, after an appearance of deliberation, issued an edict, by which the ducal decree was "annulled, quashed, and reprobated, with all that it contained, as enormous, impious, and detestable," and "all archbishops, bishops, inquisitors, &c., were enjoined to act as theretofore against the heretics, without regard to the act."

The duke of Savoy was for an instant stupified, as it were, by this edict; but, recalling his dignity as a crowned sovereign, and well knowing that Rome would crush whomsoever showed fear of her, he ordered the senate of Turin to examine the edict. The attorney-general, Rocca, moved, in the senate, that the edict should be declared null, and that the decree for the re-establish-

ment of the Vaudois should be maintained, still more as an act of justice than as an act of grace. The solicitor-general, Frechignone, supported this motion, and the senate, by a decree of 11th September, 1694, quashed the edict of the Inquisition, prohibited its publication in the states of Savoy, under pain of death, and confirmed in all its integrity the edict in favour of the Vaudois. Victor-Amadeus communicated this decree to the pope, with the distinct intimation that no sovereign of Europe would thenceforth permit, on the part of the holy see, any such abuse of power. Spain and Austria communicated similar protests, and the pope, thereupon, alleging that he had been misinformed, ordered his nuncio at Turin to withdraw the edict which had met with such emphatic resistance.

The Vaudois meanwhile applied themselves to re-establish their old organization. Nearly all the Vaudois families, proscribed or catholicized, had returned to the bosom of their church and of their country. The Vaudois militia had taken a prominent rank in the regular troops of Victor-Amadeus. The fields were once more cultivated, the houses rebuilt, the altars raised up, and the ecclesiastical directors of this little people endeavoured to have their numbers augmented.

In the year 1692 there were twelve churches in the valleys; but the people could not support as many pastors. Queen Mary II. of England, of eternal and beneficent memory, having been informed of their misery, instituted twelve pensions of a hundred crowns each, for each pastor, and of fifty crowns for each schoolmaster. These subsidies were afterwards increased with the increased number of parishes, till they reached the sum of five hundred and fifty pounds per annum. These payments, not having appeared on the civil list of William III., were suspended for some years after his death; but a deputation of Vaudois to London then obtained its restoration. There were but nine pastors in the valleys in the earlier part of 1692, but the number was increased by several others in June. In the same year was established the Vaudois Table, or board for managing the affairs of the church; and its officers immediately wrote to the various protestant states in Europe which had interested themselves in behalf of the Israel of the Alps, acquainting them with their new position, thanking them for their past benefits, and earnestly soliciting a continuance of that tutelary benevolence by which alone they could raise themselves up from the

domestic ruin accumulated by six years of calamity. The appeal was liberally responded to by Holland, Switzerland, England, whose bounty established several schools, and alleviated the more pressing distresses of the Vaudois.

A series of synods occupied themselves with the organization of the church, the confirmation of discipline, the strengthening of morals, relaxed by so many years of agitation, the release of brethren from the galleys, the institution of a system of arbitration, and other reforms and improvements; and matters seemed settling upon a basis of permanent security and repose, when the peace made between Victor-Amadeus and France placed the Vaudois once more at the mercy of their ancient foes. Children were once more forcibly taken from their protestant parents, and no redress afforded. The Vaudois were called upon for extraordinary imposts to repay the cost of troops; and were peremptorily required, moreover, to pay all the taxes that had accrued in respect of the lands they now occupied, during the time of their exile, and while the lands had been utterly uncultivated. The population, already immersed in poverty, thus found themselves laden with a demand amounting to 300,000 francs, of which, in default of the principal, they were to pay the interest yearly. It became manifestly impossible that they could satisfy this extortion, together with the other imposts that were required from them; and many of them prepared once more to leave that native land which they had recovered so arduously, and the right to the tranquil enjoyment of which they had earned by such signal aid to their sovereign in his difficulties.

In the spring of 1698, a Jesuit, accompanied by several monks, made a detailed inspection of the valleys; and upon the report which he made to the pope of his inspection, the marquis di Spada immediately proceeded from Rome to Turin, where he had a long conference with the apostolical nuncio. Louis XIV. was at this time persecuting the protestants of Dauphiny with the most cruel rigour, and the protestants of the valleys divined that this conference between their deadly enemies had for its object their own extirpation. Their alarm was but too well founded. In the treaty of peace of 18th August, 1696, between France and Piedmont, there was a secret article (the seventh) which ran thus: "His royal highness shall prohibit, under pain of corporal punishment, the inhabitants of the valley of Luzerna, known under the name of Vaudois, from

having any religious communication with the subjects of his most christian majesty ; nor shall his royal highness permit henceforth the subjects of the king of France to establish themselves in any manner in the said valleys, nor allow any preacher, subject to him, to set foot on the French territory, nor permit the worship, calling itself reformed, in the territories which have been ceded to him." These territories were precisely the valleys of Perosa and Pragela. Pursuant to this treaty, the duke of Savoy, on the 1st of July, 1698, issued an edict by which he ordered that all French protestants established in his states, even the ministers, should, without reference to any permission theretofore obtained to the contrary, quit his states, in the space of two months, under penalty of *death*. Such of them as had become proprietors in the country, and had not sold their properties within that period, were to receive the market price of the same from the intendant at Pinerolo. Further, the Vaudois pastors were forbidden to enter the states of the king of France under pain of ten years' labour in the galleys. Moreover, "in order to satisfy the signified desires of his majesty," the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys were ordered to have no communication with the subjects of his most christian majesty in matters of religion, under pain of a public whipping for each transgression.

The agitation and misery occasioned in all the families affected by this edict may be readily imagined. Most of the foreign refugees had formed alliances with the Vaudois, by marriage or otherwise ; yet all had now to seek another asylum, and more than 3000 emigrants were thus compelled to journey forth into foreign lands. Thither, in the succeeding chapters, we shall follow them.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE VAUDOIS IN WURTEMBERG.

1698 — 1699.

OF the thirteen pastors who, in 1698, served the Vaudois church, seven were foreigners, and were obliged accordingly to expatriate themselves under the edict of the 1st of July. Two of these immediately repaired to Switzerland and Germany, to prepare there an asylum for their fugitive flocks. A certain number of families had already quitted Pragela, in order to avoid the vexa-

tious proceedings of Louis XIV. ; and towards the close of 1697, a portion of the inhabitants of Val Perosa joined these first exiles, in consequence of the refusal of Victor-Amadeus to recognise, in the reformers of the territory yielded by France, the same rights as those enjoyed by the reformers of the other Vaudois valleys.

These families, having traversed Switzerland without being able to find a settlement there, addressed themselves, in the commencement of 1698, to the duke of Wurtemberg, with the view of obtaining lands in his territory. This prince, though well disposed in their favour, found his benevolence impeded by the faculty of theology, at Tubingen, who considered the Vaudois as stained with Calvinism, and who were energetically supported in their opposition by the ducal council. A prince of secondary rank, however, the count de Nieustadt, a man of ability and of excellent heart, did not permit himself to be influenced by these prejudices. He rightly considered that the active energies of the Vaudois might benefit his district, in which they proposed to establish certain manufactures ; and he assigned to the emigrants portions of land in the neighbourhood of Gochseim, with fifteen acres of arable, two of pasture land, and one of vineyard, for the especial use of their future pastor. The privy council, however, operated upon by the enemies of the unfortunate colonists, presented to the count a report, in which they declared that the opinions of the Vaudois were neither conformable with the old Vaudois confession, nor with that of the Moravian brethren, but were altogether tainted with Calvinism, and that therefore the emigrants ought to be refused an asylum in Wurtemberg, unless they consented to adopt the confession of Augsburg.

The count de Nieustadt, nevertheless, persisted in his project of colonization, as generous towards the exiles as beneficial towards his own territories ; and if at a later period the Vaudois obtained a footing in Wurtemberg, it was owing to the independent spirit and far-seeing intelligence of this nobleman.

Meanwhile was issued the decree of the duke of Savoy, which ordered all foreign protestants to quit his states ; and two thousand exiles made to the gospel the sacrifice of their adopted country, of the beautiful valleys which they had inhabited for ten or twelve years, and in which they had, by official edicts, received authorization to dwell. These two thousand exiles were joined by many Vaudois allied with them by family and other ties, and by all the protestants who had remained in the Val

Perosa, and who were precluded, by a special clause of the treaty between Louis XIV. and the duke, from exercising in that valley the reformed worship; so that the total number of emigrants was upwards of three thousand. These put themselves in movement, towards the close of 1698, in seven bands, each led by a pastor. The duke of Savoy had consented to defray their travelling expenses; but on the third day the minister of finance withdrew this concession, in the hope that want of means might perforce keep the Vaudois in the country, and that there they might be impelled by want and persecution to accept catholicism.

But the spirit of unity and of christian enthusiasm which animated them all, did not permit one of them to wander from the straight path; the richer among them paid for the very poor, and all arrived together at Geneva, that hospitable station of all our great migrations, sustained by their confidence in God, the welcome of their brethren, and the succours cordially transmitted from Holland and England. The evangelical cantons of Switzerland consented to entertain them during the winter, on condition, considering the over-population of Switzerland and the bad harvest of 1698, that they would migrate further in the spring of 1699.

Meantime, Henri Arnaud, and other Vaudois delegates, had been taking steps in Wurtemberg to obtain for their co-religionists a fixed establishment in that country. Arnaud, as chief spokesman, showed to the ducal commissioners that the Vaudois church, itself anterior to all those produced by the Reformation, had not assimilated with Calvinism; that it admitted the confession of faith of the Bohemian brethren, as well as that of St. Cyril; and declared that the Vaudois, if received into Wurtemberg, would be faithful to the government of the country, in peace as in war.

Pressing solicitations in favour of the Vaudois were made at the same time to the duke of Wurtemberg, by the courts of Holland and England, from both of which countries large pecuniary aid was also transmitted to facilitate the establishment of the exiles in the duchy; and eventually, despite much opposition, the duke permitted them to take up their abode in his states, on very favourable terms, negotiated chiefly by the Dutch envoy, Walknaer. They were to have full and free exercise of their religion; to have in each of their churches a consistory, formed of the pastor, deacons, and elders; to hold synods when occasion required, at which deputies from all the Vaudois colonies

around might attend, a government commissioner being present; their pastors and deacons were to be exempt from giving evidence, in courts of justice, as to any matters confided to them under the seal of confession, except as concerned high treason; one half of the property of those who should die, intestate, during the first twenty years of their residence in Wurtemberg, was to be distributed among the poor brethren of the commune; they were to be exempt from certain imposts for ten years after their establishment; all the lands in the bailiwicks of Maulbronn and Leonberg that had remained waste since the Thirty Years' War, were assigned to them in full gift, and all the villages they should build were to enjoy the same privileges with the other towns of the duchy; for the exercise of justice and municipal administration among themselves, they were to establish, in each community, a secular council, consisting of a mayor, sheriff, and such other persons as they might judge fittest for the purpose, and which was to have jurisdiction in all civil matters, up to the value of twenty florins; no foreigner might settle in the colonies they should establish without their consent, and that of the duke; they were permitted to trade throughout the duchy, and to export and import all sorts of merchandise, on payment of the regular dues; and they might establish such fairs and markets as they deemed necessary.

These privileges were, for the most part, the same with those which the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt had just granted to the Vaudois, at the solicitation of Walknaer, and they served as the model of all the similar concessions which were granted to the faithful in the contiguous states.

To aid the support of the Vaudois pastors in these foreign settlements, Arnaud, during his residence in London, obtained the consent of the British government that the sum of 555*l.*, which was assigned from the civil list to the pastors of the valleys, should be divided, in fair proportions, between them and the pastors of the colonies.

With respect to the Vaudois colonies in Wurtemberg, six months before the completion of the patent authorizing their establishment in that country, most of their number had arrived (April, 1699) at Maulbronn, where they were lodged, temporarily, in the stockades which had been constructed at the time of the invasion of Louvois, in 1688. The establishment here of the unhappy exiles was materially aided by pecuniary succours, to

the extent of 10,000 crowns, furnished by the States-general of Holland; and already, in August, 1699, the bailiff of Maulbronn reports, that in the commune of Pinache, the Vaudois, men, women and children, had made an excellent beginning; had brought into cultivation lands which had been waste for more than half a century; and that the happiest results to the land of their adoption were to be expected from their skill and industry in agriculture, and from their admirable conduct.

The autumn and winter of the first year were, however, a sore trial for the poor colonists. Most of them were without adequate shelter against the inclemency of the weather, and they had neither corn, nor cattle, nor many other articles of first necessity. Thanks, however, to the kindness of the Dutch ambassador and of the Wurtemberg government, their wants were gradually remedied, and there arose among them the following villages, all bearing names derived from the Vaudois valleys.

First, in the bailiwick of Leonberg, where, near Heimsheim, there had been nearly a thousand acres of waste land, was established the colony of Pinache, in a modest hamlet, whose cottages were each surrounded with a little garden and orchard. The church was built on the hill of Halberg, overlooking on the one side rising ground covered with forest, on the other the verdant and undulating plain of Eltingen. Next, in the bailiwick of Mermshheim, rose Pinache, composed, in the first instance, of one hundred and seventeen families, divided into three groups; one near Durmentz, another near Grossen-Glappach, and the third near Iptingen. This was one of the most energetic, and consequently one of the most flourishing, of the colonies, and its houses were altogether of a superior construction.

South of this, in the bailiwick of Dietlingen, was the colony of Luzerna, in German, Wurmberg; between which and Pinache was the hamlet of Serres, the wretched huts of which were scattered over a gentle eminence.

Beyond Pinache, towards the valley of Eintz, from which it is separated by a magnificent forest, is the bailiwick of Durmentz. Here a hundred and fifteen Vaudois families, who were subsequently joined by ninety-six other persons, established themselves on the two banks of the Eintz; the one colony about the imposing ruins of the castle of Loeffelstelz, or Mugensturn, the other towards Lommersheim and Ortisheim; the village built by the former receiving the name of Chorres, that by the latter, of

Sengach. The artisans among them were permitted to take up their abode in Durmentz itself, where they occupied a street still called after them *Welchstrass* (French street). On the opposite bank of the Eintz is Mulacre, where some of the Vaudois settled, Arnaud being one, the house built by whom still stands there, the last but one in the village, on the left, as you leave towards Durlach. Several of the companions of Arnaud took up their abode at Schönberg, further on towards the mountains of Maulbronn. Arnaud himself lived at Schönberg, as pastor, for twenty years, and, dying in 1721, aged eighty, his remains rest in its humble church, which so often re-echoed his evangelical voice. His place of sepulture is marked by a flat, plain stone, in front of the pulpit, under the communion table. By his first wife, Margaret Bastia, of La Torre, he had five children, one of whom, Scipio, succeeded him in the pastorate of Schönberg. His second wife, Renée Rebondy, by whom he had no children, received after his death a portion of the pension of 226*l.* which had been allowed him by queen Anne of England.

Between Schönberg and Maulbronn is the bailiwick of Knittlingen, wherein the Vaudois, on their way to Maulbronn, took possession of the soil, by depositing therein the remains of one of their pastors, M. Dumas, who had died immediately after reaching the land of refuge. The district of Maulbronn received more than three hundred families, who distributed themselves into three groups; the first of which, towards Dertingen, built the villages of Little Villaro and Paussetot; the second, towards the lake of Breitheim; the third, towards Knittlingen, founded the town of Great Villaro, which became the largest of these colonies, numbering, after a while, more than a thousand inhabitants. A suburb of Great Villaro forms the hamlet of Diefenbach, where, at present, there remains only one family of Vaudois origin.

Two years after their expulsion, and when the expatriated families had founded the colonies of which we have spoken, there still remained a great number of the exiles wandering about without a fixed domicile, which, indeed, many of them had not sought, in the hope of soon returning to their valleys, as after the expulsion in 1686. Some, indeed, had even retraced their steps, and consented to apostatize, in order to be allowed to remain in the valleys. To check these evils, Walknaer issued a circular, pointing out the impossibility, under the existing cir-

cumstances, of a return to the valleys, compatibly with an adherence to the true faith, and calling upon the authorities in each colony to take measures for the maintenance of regular order.

In consequence of this remonstrance, the emigrants who were still wandering about, collected together, and formed a colony in the bailiwick of Calw, in an open space of the Black Forest. The village they built here, at first called Borseto, from a village in the valley of Pragela, is now known as Nieu Engstedt. The Vaudois at first employed themselves upon the manufactures of Calw, but afterwards they established a stocking-manufactory of their own, now nearly extinct.

The administration of these little communities was managed by a syndic, a deacon, who was also an elder, and by two other elders, all of whom bore the general designation of justiciaries.

Four years after the foundation of these various colonies, fresh events compelled a thousand persons to quit the Val di Pragela, who were all, in like manner, received in Wurtemberg, and settled in the district of Heilbronn, near Brackenheim, a position far more favourable than that of the other colonies, the vine and the mulberry-tree growing there, and the forests being less near. Money-contributions from Holland enabled these exiles to build a church and a school, and aided the erection of their towns, which they variously denominated, after their native seats, Usseaux, Mentola, or Fenestrelles, the district, as being between Nordheim and Hausen, receiving the appellation of Nordhausen. In this settlement, the most purely Vaudois of all—for most of the exiles of 1698 were French refugees—the Vaudois type has remained in its greatest purity, in manners, in costume, and in accent. There, as in the valleys themselves, is observed the custom of giving to each guest at a wedding, a piece of ribband, called *livrée*. The faces of the population still retain the Italian character. One circumstance which contributed to preserve their homogeneity was that, for a long time, they married, for the most part, only among themselves; another was, the practice among them of assembling together, from time to time, and interchanging reminiscences of their native land, its history, its aspect, its manners.

The potato was introduced into Germany by these colonists, who also did much to extend and improve the growth of the mulberry and the grape.

The Vaudois had only been admitted into Wurtemberg on the

declaration that they were not Calvinists; and it was, from the first, a great object with the grand consistory of Stuttgart to effect the further object of annexing them to Lutheranism. Promises and menaces were alternately employed to induce the consistories of the Vaudois colonies to recognise the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Lutheran consistory, but with very little success, for so long as Wurtemberg was governed by catholic princes (till 1797), the administration of that country had no interest in favouring the one protestant body over the other.

Under the reign of the first Lutheran prince, Frederick I., the Stuttgart consistory induced some of the French pastors, serving Vaudois cures, to lay a petition before the government that the German language might be substituted for the French, in Vaudois preaching and instruction. The king replied that he would *permit* the introduction of the German language into the colonies, provided that none of the Vaudois objected. This proviso was suppressed by the Lutheran consistory, who, merely announcing the *authorization* to use the German language, issued an order that thenceforth the Vaudois religious service should be celebrated in German. This order, however, was at once protested against by the Vaudois, who waited upon the king, for that purpose, at Ludwigsburg, and his majesty not only quashed it, but expressly directed that no such innovations should be attempted, except upon the proposition of the Vaudois themselves.

On the accession of William I., however, fresh attempts were made to Germanize the Vaudois churches, by favouring mixed alliances between Vaudois and Lutherans, by inviting the schoolmasters to teach in German as well as in French, and lastly, by promising to undertake the support of both pastors and schoolmasters, on the condition that these should be Germans. In an assembly of the states, held at Stuttgart, in 1821, it was resolved, that a sum of 12,000 florins per annum should be allotted to such Vaudois churches as should place in the ecclesiastical administration of the country the selection of their pastors and schoolmasters. At length, in 1823, the last general synod of the Vaudois churches in Wurtemberg took place at Stuttgart. There was much talk of a fusion between the two protestant churches, under the common name of *evangelical*, such as had already been effected in Baden. There was very little discussion on the part of the dissentients, for they were not heard, and, ultimately, the great object with the Lutheran consistory, of substituting

German for French pastors and schoolmasters in the Vaudois colonies was effected. Next, the German Bible replaced the French version, but not until, at assiduous conferences of competent men, it had been clearly ascertained by the close comparison of line with line, that the contents of the German translation were in conformity with the primitive text. This union of the Vaudois colonies with the national church, though at the time deeply painful to the large proportion of the exiles, put an end to many abuses, to many divisions and intrigues, and introduced greater care and regularity into the selection of pastors and schoolmasters. It had the further advantage of gradually effacing the separation which had previously existed between the Vaudois and the people of the country. So long as the former spoke among themselves a language of their own, they inspired more or less of distrust in all who heard but did not understand them. Moreover, the independence of their church had previously excited a certain degree of jealousy on the part of the national church, which was now removed.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE VAUDOIS COLONIES IN HESSE D'ARMSTADT, AND OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY.

1698—1818.

At the period of their first expulsion in 1686, the Vaudois had already applied to the landgrave of Hesse d'Armstadt, for an asylum in his territories, and the faculty of theology at Giesen, having been consulted on the point, had decided that they might be admitted, on condition of their avoiding all polemics, and of their regarding the prince as chief of the church (*Summus Episcopus*), without, however, their being required to modify, in any manner or degree, their confession of faith.

We have seen these poor exiles returning to their country in 1689, re-established there in 1692, and the influence upon their position of the special peace made by the duke of Savoy with the king of France. In 1698, a body of the unhappy Vaudois, once more expelled from their native homes, sought refuge in the hospitable territories of Ernest-Louis, landgrave of Hesse d'Arm-

stadt, whose concessions, signed 2nd May, 1699, served as a model for those afterwards granted to them by Eberhard-Louis, grand-duke of Wurtemberg. These letters-patent open thus: "His Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses the states-general of the united provinces of the low countries, having specially recommended to us the Vaudois, who left the valleys of Piedmont, in the month of September last, by the express order of his royal highness the duke of Savoy: several protestant electors and princes of the empire having formally written to us in their favour, and the sieur Peter Walknaer, in his quality of envoy-extraordinary of their high mightinesses, having urged us to the same purpose:

"We, touched with lively compassion at seeing this people again wandering about, despoiled of everything, and seeking a retreat and an asylum in Germany, have resolved to receive a portion of them into our states, and to establish them there under our protection, so that no one shall molest or annoy them in any way, provided they conscientiously observe our orders, and submit to our laws."

The letters-patent then proceed to set forth a list of thirty-nine privileges conceded to the Vaudois colonists in Hessed'Armstadt, and which permitted them the free exercise of their religion, in their own language, in their own churches, and by the medium of their own pastors and schoolmasters, elected by themselves, and who were only to take an oath of fidelity to the landgrave. They were to have their own consistories, their own synods, general and special, their own ecclesiastical government, and their pastors were to have free access to any people of their communion who might be in prison or ill, in any part of the ducal states. Their pastors and deacons were exempted from giving in evidence, in the courts of justice, any matters they had learned from their people, under the seal of confession, except in cases of high-treason. In secular affairs, they were permitted to administer justice among themselves, by their own sheriffs, and other officers, and without appeal, up to the sum of 50 florins; even in criminal matters, they were allowed to try and to sentence, execution, only, being stayed, until the sentence had received the ratification of the duke, who reserved to himself the prerogative of pardon. They were to have authority to wear arms, and to exercise themselves in their use, and, in case of war, were to form a body apart, commanded by their own officers, and not liable to

serve beyond the ducal territories. They were declared admissible to all public offices, civil, political, and ecclesiastical, and their children to all the colleges and universities. Their ministers and their secular officers were placed on an equality, in all respects, with the corresponding functionaries of the ducal states. They were to be permitted to dispose of their property as they thought fit; the property of any one dying intestate was to be distributed among his next heirs; if there were no heirs, then it was to be divided between the state and the poor of his commune. The Vaudois colonists were to owe service to no one but the sovereign; and for fifteen years they were to be exempted from the payment of various public taxes. They were to be allowed to trade in any part of the ducal dominions, without licence, and to carry on whatever industry they should think fit. Whenever it should please God to visit them with the plague, they were not to be expelled from their villages. They were to be permitted, *in common with the other protestant settlers*, to build a town near Keltersbach, where lands were to be gratuitously assigned to them, to be distributed among themselves, and cultivated as they should think fit. They were, lastly, to be considered as upon an entire equality, in all respects, with the other inhabitants of the country.

The result of all this grand display of generosity and liberality, was a few miserable villages built in wretched localities, the access to which, from Darmstadt, is through a dismal forest, whose few roads, rugged with mud and stones, are almost everywhere impenetrable by conveyances of any sort. There are five Vaudois communities in Hesse-Darmstadt: Rohrbach, Wembach, Heim, Waldorf, and Welch-Neureth. Rohrbach, the residence of the pastor, Jacob Montoux, was the capital of these Vaudois colonies. Wembach is not far distant, and near this is the hamlet of Heim; Waldorf, like Rohrbach, a pastoral residence, lies amid the woods, on the left bank of the Maine, some leagues from Frankfort.

The exiles in these parishes remained in close union with their brethren who had settled in Wurtemberg, giving each other mutual aid and consolation, holding their synods in common, their pastors participating in the same subsidies, and interchanging, from time to time, their pastoral cares.

The Vaudois in Hesse-Darmstadt were, however, always poorer than their brethren in Wurtemberg, and their privations

became excessively aggravated by the French revolution of 1792, and the consequent wars on the continent. Many of their families have already emigrated to America, and many others only await the means to follow their brethren, artisans, robust labourers, accustomed to hard work, and knowing of the world only its necessities.

In 1801, a colony of sixty-five or seventy families, among whom were four Vaudois families, emigrated to America, under the direction of one Replet, at that time a weaver, afterwards a communist preacher, and who is since dead, leaving behind him, it is said, a fortune of £240,000. They purchased lands near Philadelphia, which, after having, in seven years, brought them to a high state of cultivation, they sold at a large profit, and purchased, with the proceeds, a vast and fertile tract of land on the Mississippi, on which they have since prospered in a very eminent degree.

There were also, in 1699, Vaudois established in the Grand Duchy of Baden, with much the same privileges that were granted to the exiles in Wurtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt; one large colony settled in Hanau, a district of the principality of Yssemburg, founding there, (August, 1699,) the town of Waldensberg (Hill of the Vaudois); and near Homburg we find the Vaudois colony of Dornholzhausen, established 4th May, 1699, and the miserable condition of which was materially alleviated in 1818, by a donation of £500 from George IV. of England, on the occasion of the marriage of the princess Elizabeth with the duke of Hesse-Homburg. Of other emigrants from the valleys into Germany, between 1698 and 1730, some established themselves at Friedericksdorff, near Dornholzhausen; at Erlagen, in Franconia; at Nieuberg, near Nuremberg; at Dupphausan, and at Braunfelz, near Wetzlar; at Dodenheusen, near Malburg; while some retired to the Valteline, near Gressoney, where their descendants still speak the Vaudois tongue.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA AND OF THE
VAUDOIS OF PIEDMONT IN MODERN TIMES.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS OF PRAGELA, AND OF
THE ADJACENT VALLEYS.

THE history of the Vaudois of Pragela is quite distinct from that of the other valleys, these being often persecuted, while those were tranquil, and *vice versâ*; the reason of this being, that Pragela belonged to the king of France, while the others, up to 1713, belonged to Piedmont.

The valley of Pragela extends along the banks of two parallel rivers, the Clusone and the Doria, between the crest of the Alps to Pinerolo, on the one side, and on the other to Bussolino, near Susa. The adjacent valleys that terminate in, or prolong, the basin of the Doria, are those of Mathias and Meano, on the right bank; of Chaumont, Exili, and Bardoneche, on the left bank; and of Thures and Sauzet towards the bottom. The Col de Sestrieres separates this district from the basin of Pragela, where flows the Clusone, on whose banks are the lateral valleys of Traversa, Puy, Pourrieres, and Villaret, the latter communicating with the narrow valley of Meano. Prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the Vaudois of these valleys possessed eleven parishes, eighteen churches, and sixty-four centres of religious assembling, where worship was celebrated, morning and evening, in as many hamlets.

It was at Laus, in Pragela, that was held the famous synod where, 200 years before the protestant reformation, 140 protestant pastors assembled; each accompanied by two or three lay deputies; and it was from the Val de Pragela that the gospel of God made its way into France, prior to the fifteenth century.

Before the domination of the king of France, the Vaudois of Pragela had undergone the sceptres of the Dauphins. In the accounts of the *Chatelain Delphinal*, dated 6th November, 1315,

under the head of the valley of the Clusone, we find the item: "93 livres tournois, 3 deniers, paid to the inquisitors for the exercise of their functions in the valley;" and again, in the accounts for the year 1345, we find the inquisitors of the valley of Pragela in full operation "against the heretics," there being a regular balance-sheet of receipts and expenditure under this head, the expenditure being the money paid to the inquisitors for *pursuing, torturing, and burning* the heretics; the receipts being the amounts realized from the confiscated property of the heretics so burned. In the persecution of the evangelicals which took place in 1556, the Vaudois churches of Larche, Merona, Meano and Suza, were fiercely assailed, and the minister of Meano was cruelly put to death.

Under the reign of Charles IX. the protestants of the Val de Pragela had to undergo all the animosity of the Guise, of the marshal de Retz, and of Mary de' Medici, being defended, on the other hand, by the princes de Condé, the admiral Coligny, and the king of Navarre. The chiefs of the Huguenot party in Dauphiny were the intrepid Montbrun and the ferocious Des Adrets, the latter of whom dishonoured the cause by bootless brutalities. He invaded Pragela in the spring of 1562, and committed infinite violence upon the catholics, the only result of which was that, when he withdrew, the catholics made the protestants responsible for outrages with which they had had nothing to do. At Briançon, the Vaudois, who had just taken the town, were themselves hemmed in by fresh troops of the enemy, and pitilessly massacred. Another company of the evangelical soldiers were surrounded in like manner, in a ruined temple, between Rouilleres and Pragela, and all slaughtered.

The wars of religion were for a moment calmed in France by the edict of pacification, which Charles IX. signed at Amboise, 19th of March, 1563, an edict containing provisions more favourable to the reformers than any they had hitherto obtained; but it was modified by a royal ordonnance given at Lyon, 9th of August, 1564.

The haughty and artful Catherine de Medici, however, while affecting a desire to reconcile the two parties, was all the time levying troops wherewith to assail the Huguenots. This was in 1567, and at that juncture the duke of Cleves, traversing Piedmont with a Spanish army, on his way to Flanders, had reached Pinerolo. Immediately upon his arrival there, he ordered all the

Vaudois, native or foreigners, to register themselves individually with the governor of the province in which they dwelt. The same course was adopted towards the reformers of France, the object being to ascertain the exact strength of the party. Birague, governor of Pinerolo, prohibited all persons in his district from receiving protestants into their houses, on pain of death, and from every side and every form, danger menaced the unhappy Vaudois. Under these circumstances, the Vaudois churches held a synod in the Val Clusone (May, 1567), and decreed a general fast, in order to avert God's chastisements by humiliation and prayer. The cloud passed on; but it was only for a while. The St. Bartholomew ensanguined France, and fear once more spread itself over the valleys. "The catholics," says Gilles, "rejoiced, and rallied the reformists as *though God had been abolished*." The protestant worship was forbidden on French ground, and the protestant churches were shut up; the protestants continued to celebrate their religious services in the fields or in private houses; at length, in 1573, the governor of Pinerolo ordered the protestants to cease their religion altogether; they refused, and Birague, marching out his troops by night, surprised the town of San Germano before daybreak. Five men belonging to the place were seized as they came out to their work, and hanged; but the alarm thus given, the rest of the inhabitants defended themselves valiantly, and captain Frache, hastening from the heights of Angrogna with his band of warriors, chased the assailants back to Pinerolo, subjecting them on the way to heavy losses.

Wearied of the fruitless struggle, both parties desired an accommodation, and the Vaudois, in August, 1573, consented to waive, for a month, the public celebration of their worship, and to dismiss their pastor, on the condition that both sides should lay down their arms, that all prisoners should be mutually surrendered, without ransom, and that there should be no prosecutions of individuals by reason of the late events. But in the following year, Charles IX. died a horrible death at Vincennes, and his brother, Henry III., ascending the throne, at once declared against religious liberty; and a great council, held at Lyon, 6th of September, 1574, decreed the rigorous prosecution of the intestine and cruel war by which it was hoped to destroy the Huguenots. The latter, however, with three princes of the blood at their head, assumed so bold a front, that the papists

deemed it expedient to make peace ; and by the edict of the 14th of May, 1576, the protestants obtained the free exercise of their religion, admission to the parliaments, and the possession, by their troops, of a certain number of fortresses, to be held as hostages. These guarantees excited intense indignation in the catholics ; the more ardent among them leagued together ; the crowd followed them, the ambitious placed themselves at their head, the indecision of the king enabled them to acquire strength, and thus arose the League.

To repress the League, the menaced party demanded the assembling of the States-general, which were accordingly opened by the king at Blois, 6th December, 1576. But the Calvinists did not derive thence the advantages they had hoped. The assembly, all the members of which were Roman Catholics, revoked their privileges, and decreed a formal authorization of the League, which they compelled the king himself to sign.

Civil war was thus lighted up once more with greater fury than ever ; but soon, in the fear lest the reformers might call in foreign troops to their aid, Henry III. granted them (5th of October, 1577) a new *edict of pacification*. It was the sixth, and was as little durable as the rest. The war proceeded, and the agitations which it occasioned throughout France had their echo in the Vaudois valleys belonging to France, where, under the shield of the League, the enemies of the protestants acquired fresh daring. It was said that a coalition had been formed between Henry III., Philip II., and the duke of Savoy, to annihilate the church of the valleys ; and to this cruel menace the Israel of the Alps responded by a public fast (15th, 16th, 22nd, and 23rd May, 1585), consecrated to humiliation and prayer. The duke of Savoy, so far from joining the League, strongly denounced its excesses, and the valleys under his rule were consequently tranquil ; but the valleys of the Doria and the Clusone underwent much suffering.

The edict by which, in February, 1602, after the conclusion of peace, Charles-Emanuel accorded religious liberty to the Vaudois valleys, restricting the exercise of the protestant worship to the churches comprehended within the precise limits of those valleys, the churches of Saluzzo and Pragela found themselves excluded from its operation. The members of these churches thereupon assembled together by representatives, at Pragela, and drew up a protest against the machinations and violence to

which they were subjected. One effect of this spirited declaration was to augment the ardour of proselytism in the zealous missionaries whom popery had distributed through the valleys, and whose labours were now aided by the archbishop of Turin in person, who, reaching Perosa on the 25th May, 1602, availed himself of the state of well-nigh famine under which the district was suffering, to offer corn, bread, and money to all who would catholicize, and, on the other hand, to withhold from the reapers permission to seek work in the plain of Piedmont, until they had promised to apostatize; but his pious labours found scarcely any success. In 1623, by the exertions of the catholics, an order was obtained from the duke, requiring the Vaudois of the Val Perosa to demolish six of their churches. The order was disregarded; the ducal troops were ordered into the valley to enforce it, but the Vaudois at once collected in arms, and, aided by the sudden and severe setting-in of winter, expelled the soldiery, and once more amnesty was proclaimed, and the privileges of the Vaudois confirmed.

In 1629 and 1630, Louis XIII. invaded Piedmont by Susa and the valley of Pragela, and his presence amongst the Vaudois had a great influence on their destinies. The last of the wars of religion of which France was the theatre was now at its height. The protestant party, defeated by arms, only raised its head once more by force of discussion. In 1627, the dukes of Rohan and Soubise, the chiefs of the Huguenots, had demanded aid from England, who had thereupon despatched 150 ships to Rochelle. The cardinal de Richelieu constructed a celebrated dike to prevent them from throwing any succours into the town; but the siege of the place still lasted from 10th August, 1627, to 28th October, 1628, and it then only surrendered in the last extremity, and after 12,000 of its inhabitants had died of famine. The fortifications of the town were destroyed, the municipality abolished, and the exercise of catholicism established. Louis XIII., who had entered the town on the 1st of November, received a sort of triumph on his return to Paris, which took place on the 23rd December. In the interval, several towns of the second class, had been taken from the protestants in the Vivarais and in Languedoc, but many others still held out.

In the commencement of the year, Charles de Gonzaga, duke de Nevers, had inherited the duchy of Mantua, to which Spain and Savoy disputed his title. The king of France, in his

support, marched in person upon Piedmont, the marquis d'Axel commanding his vanguard. In the spring of 1628, he sought to force the Alps, in order to make his way into the valleys of Italy. All the Piedmontese troops were immediately assembled. On his part, colonel Porporato, commander of the Vaudois militia, convoked a meeting of the Vaudois pastors and syndics at Roccapiatto, for the purpose of applying their interest over their people to the setting on foot the greatest possible number of Vaudois soldiers. The Vaudois readily promised their co-operation, on the simple condition that they should themselves be left to guard the passes of their mountains, a condition which was at once granted.

The posts so established were inspected by superior officers of the ducal army, and Charles-Emanuel himself inspected the intrenchments formed in the valley of Perosa (August 1628). The count de Verrua, one of the duke's most distinguished generals, renewed to the pastors the solicitations for earnest aid made by colonel Porporato, and promised, in his sovereign's name, the most ample religious liberty in return.

On the 16th of January, 1629, Louis XIII. quitted Paris, for the purpose of crossing the Alps at the head of his army. When he had reached Briançon (end of February) the governor of Pine-rollo ordered all the male inhabitants of the valleys capable of carrying arms to hold themselves in readiness to march. Count Philip of Luzerna placed himself at their head, and led them into Val Perosa. Charles-Emanuel himself had advanced into the valley of the Doria.

On the 4th of March, Louis XIII. crossed Mont Genevre, and on the 6th, forced, in person, the three barricades of Susa, defended by the duke of Savoy, who was fain to give way before superiority alike in numbers and in courage.

On the 11th of March he concluded peace with the king; and, having just before been the ally of the Spaniards, now undertook to fight against them, and to assist France in compelling them to raise the siege of Casale, in favour of the duke de Nevers.

After the victory he had thus achieved, Louis XIII. received felicitations and addresses of various kinds, among which we may signalize that of the provost of Oulx.—“Sire,” said this functionary, “Providence has blessed your arms, because you have consecrated them to the service of the faith. The numerous triumphs which your majesty has effected in France, over heresy, fill all true catholic hearts with joy; everywhere do they offer

up their prayers to Heaven for your majesty's preservation and glory, assured that Heaven, in conducting you to our land, wills to complete its work in augmenting your glory and our consolation, by raising up the catholic worship, which acquires strength wherever your majesty proceeds, and which vehemently needs such succour in these unhappy valleys, where, bitter truth to say, it has been completely prostrated." To this address was annexed a petition signed by several catholics of the neighbourhood, calling upon the king to restore their religion in all the communes of the upper Doria, where, at that moment, not a single curé existed. Accordingly, by a decree of 1st April, 1629, Louis XIII. ordered that the exercise of the Romish religion should be re-established throughout the valleys of Exili, Bardoneche, Cesuna, and Pragela; and that the popish clergy should immediately resume possession of all the property which had theretofore belonged to them, into whose hands soever it might have passed, and whatsoever prescription might be made out in favour of the actual proprietors.

M. de Verthamont, justiciary of the army of Italy, was directed to superintend the execution of these orders, and, accompanied by Henry d'Escoubleau, archbishop of Bordeaux, he the next day proceeded to the scene of his labours. The church of Rome, however, had but very few adherents in the upper valleys; and royal power, though it might give it official access to the villages, could not give it access to men's hearts. Its priests had parishes without parishioners; and their efforts would have probably remained unsuccessful, but for an unexpected circumstance which communicated to them a fresh impulse, and opened to them a wider field of operations.

The duke of Savoy, who had not conformed to the treaty of Susa, was again menaced by France. In the spring of 1630, cardinal de Richelieu marched a considerable army against him. It entered Piedmont by the valley of the Doria, and for a while took the direction of Montferrat, but, suddenly turning to the south, it advanced upon Pinerolo, and this city, assailed on the 20th March, 1630, surrendered two days afterwards. The citadel, however, held out till the 29th.

The marshal de Crequi next, on the 21st March, took possession of the valley and castle of Perosa, whence he summoned the valleys of San Martino and Luzerna to surrender at discretion. They refused, and sent to the duke of Savoy for succours,

which he was unable to furnish. The French army advanced, and encamped at Bricherasio. Charles-Emanuel, on the contrary, retreated beyond the Po. Seeing that further resistance was impracticable, the Vaudois surrendered, on condition that they should not be required to bear arms against the duke of Savoy, and that the free exercise of the protestant religion should be guaranteed to them. Marshal Schomberg accepted these conditions; and thereupon deputies from each of the Vaudois communes repaired to Pinerolo to take the oath of fidelity to the king of France.

Fresh detachments of French troops arrived every day. The country was utterly exhausted; plague, famine, and war desolating it all at once. Louis XIII., who had returned to Lyon in May, passed thence into Savoy, which he rapidly subjected. In July, the duke de Montino readily obtained possession of the marquisate of Saluzzo; nearly the whole of Piedmont then passed under French dominion, and the siege of Casale, the original cause of all these troubles, was raised by the Spaniards on the 26th October, before the victorious arms of France.

Charles-Emanuel died of grief on the 26th July, 1630, and his son, Victor-Amadeus I., negotiated the peace of Ratisbon in the following October. By this treaty, he recovered all his states, and obtained a few unimportant places in Montferrat. The valleys of the Clusone and of the Upper Doria, and the town of Pinerolo, remained in the possession of France.

The Vaudois population of these districts were entitled to avail themselves, for the celebration of their worship, of the edicts regulating the reformed church of France; an edict of April, 1630, indeed, especially authorized them to do so; but the town of Pinerolo demanded that the protestant worship should be interdicted throughout its territory, and this prohibition was granted. Meanwhile, the priests who had been established in the valley of Pragela in 1629, and the Capuchin missionaries who had proceeded thither to labour at the conversion of the heretics, had all died, or fled, during the plague of 1630. The prior of Mentola alone remained. Fresh attempts at conversion were made, but without success. The numbers of the Vaudois, so far from diminishing, increased daily. Louis XIII. had granted them the confirmation of their ancient privileges. By their agricultural operations, their various trades, and their acquisitions thence derived, they were occupying greater and

greater space in the country. This very progress drew invidious attention upon them. Their enemies made an outcry against their encroachments. The clergy set the magistracy to work, and the attorney-general laid an information before the sovereign council at Pinerolo, that many of the protestants of Val Perosa were forming establishments beyond the limits within which alone they were permitted to exercise their worship.

In consequence, the council, by a decree of 17th July, 1645, renewed the prohibition to the Vaudois to open schools or churches, to preach, and even to teach, beyond the ancient limits assigned them. It also forbade any foreign protestant to settle in the country, under penalty of the confiscation of his goods, and a fine of 1000 livres upon the commune which had permitted the settlement to take place, without giving notice to the registrar of Pinerolo; lastly, the protestants were forbidden to hold any public office, or to purchase or lease any land, beyond their own limits; to work on catholic festivals; to dissuade any persons from catholicizing; to buy or sell any protestant religious book; and to hold any municipal meetings among themselves without the presence of the local judge, under penalty of a fine of 200 livres from each of the persons present at such meetings. The edict contained *one* prohibition addressed to the catholics: the prohibition, namely, to contribute, in any form or degree, to the support of protestant pastors or churches, under penalty of 50 livres fine for each offence. It may be readily imagined that this last prohibition was one of those most exactly observed. Its enactment, however, proves that the manners of the country had been imbued with that spirit of brotherhood which one observes wherever the Vaudois have lived, and of which even the followers of an opposing faith could not help undergoing the influence.

The Vaudois, aggrieved by these numerous restrictions, asserted the rights they had enjoyed under the dukes of Savoy, all whose edicts were preserved by the decree of 17th July; and upon their remonstrance, the sovereign council declared that "it had not intended to make any innovation upon, nor any change in, the rights, state, and condition wherein the petitioners were under the rule of the dukes of Savoy, in 1630."

But the edict of Nantes had granted to the protestants the free exercise of their worship, and full right to hold any office whatever in judicature or finance. The Vaudois of Pragela now formed a portion of France; they claimed, therefore, that the

benefits of the edict should be extended to them, and this demand was granted by decisions of the council, on 10th March, and 19th August, 1648.

Under the influence of this milder legislation, the numbers and the prosperity of the Vaudois of Pragela rapidly increased. The attempts of Louis XIII. to re-establish catholicism in their country, had produced only a momentary effect. The churches which he had founded in 1622 remained empty and closed; the vicarages themselves, in which a solitary shepherd had been placed to tend a non-existent flock, were soon deserted; the plague of 1630 killed or dispersed their useless inhabitants, who were not replaced. In many localities the municipality applied the vacated edifices to other purposes.

At Traversa, the catholic chapel having gone to decay, the Vaudois used its materials in the construction of a church for themselves. This proceeding was denounced by the Romish clergy as a crime, as robbery, sacrilege, rebellion; and there was extreme excitement aroused on the subject. At length Lesdiguières interposed, in his character as governor of Dauphiny, and decided that the Vaudois should contribute, towards the erection of a new popish chapel, the value of the materials which they had taken from the ruins of the old edifice.

The catholics, whose faith old Lesdiguières had adopted, were not peculiarly satisfied with his intervention in this matter, for, a few years afterwards, the town of Pinerolo, seeking to keep the Vaudois from its territory, to which rising prosperity was enabling them to approximate, addressed a petition to Louis XIV., in which, after protesting against the religious liberty which the protestants of Parosa and Pragela vindicated for themselves, the petitioners said: "The treaty which gave them this liberty was obtained in January, 1593, by Lesdiguières, sword in hand. True, it was afterwards confirmed, in general terms; but considering that this general professed, at the time, the reformed religion, and that the king, Henry IV., had been obliged to bring back his subjects by all possible means; that, moreover, the treaty has been tacitly revoked by the edict of Nantes, which only authorizes the celebration of the protestant worship in those places where it was previously celebrated; and that the Vaudois of Perosa cannot prove that they enjoyed the free exercise of their worship under the dukes of Savoy,—we request your majesty formally to interdict this

worship throughout the territory of Pinerolo." This petition was dated in April, 1654; on the 24th of the same month, Louis XIV., then scarcely seventeen years old, and who had not yet been crowned, but who had already begun to serve the exclusive pretensions of the Romish church, from that instinct of despotism common to both, granted its prayer; and on the 4th August was published the royal decree prohibiting to the Vaudois the public exercise of their religion within the territory of Pinerolo.

The proselytizing ambition of the monks and Jesuits acquired fresh strength from this sun of tyranny, "unequaled in the world," as the motto of the Great King declares. These attempts at conversion, however, were at first rather troublesome than formidable to the Vaudois, and to themselves rather embarrassing than productive. But more active means were in preparation. The propaganda had established itself, and the Piedmontese Easter was at hand.

After that terrible explosion of rampant and pitiless fanaticism, after that festival of blood, after that storm of death, the fugitives who had escaped the massacres of 1655 sought refuge with their brethren in the valleys of the Clusone and Pragela, who took up arms to defend them. In his capacity of moderator of the Vaudois churches, Leger now convoked a synod at the hamlet of Capella, between the valley of Doria and that of Pragela, where all the surviving pastors and elders of the devastated districts assembled. It was here that, in two days, this zealous defender of the valleys drew up his first manifesto, publishing to the world the inconceivable cruelties with which the Vaudois had been assailed. The world heard the appeal, and Louis XIV. himself dared not withhold the combining his entreaties with those of almost all the other potentates of Europe, to induce the duke of Savoy to efface, as effectually as possible, the traces of this atrocious desolation.

The governor of Dauphiny was ordered to receive the exiles with humanity, and to provide for their more pressing wants. But it was most especially from their brethren of Pragela that they received aid, asylum, and protection. The latter, themselves, were subjected to heavy trials. The council of Pinerolo, not content with having procured the prohibition of their worship throughout its territory, sought to impede their industry, and obtained an order (22nd November, 1657) that they should never dwell for more than three days together in the town. In April,

1658, a further royal order was published, forbidding all merchants, traders, and innkeepers in Pinerolo, from receiving, lodging, or associating with any person of the protestant religion. In the same year, the votaries of Pinerolo and of all the French possessions beyond the mountains, were forbidden to recognise in any way, any sale or bequest by a catholic in favour of a protestant. In 1659, the syndics of Pinerolo ordered all the reformers settled in the town to remove from it, within eight days, and enjoined all catholics who had relations with them, forthwith to discontinue them. A jesuit mission was established at Fenestrella, in September, 1659, and the king prohibited, under the severest penalties, the least attempt to interfere with their projects of conversion. The task of the christians of Pragela thus became daily more difficult; but they were not wanting to their great cause, and the efforts of their adversaries only served to augment the fervour and union of these persecuted churches.

The valley of Pragela, at the period of the arrival of the jesuits, was inhabited, from one end to the other, by zealous protestants. "These heretics," wrote their adversaries, "have ten or twelve great churches for Sunday, and more than sixty small ones, where they assemble every other day of the week; whereas the catholics have only one church, and a few chapels, far remote from one another." By such a population the jesuits were naturally very ill-received. They could scarcely procure lodging for themselves, and indeed, as one of them relates, "had it not been for the prior of Mentola and captain Guyot, they would have had no place wherein to abide, throughout the valley." They persevered, however, energetic in resolution, unscrupulous in means: how unscrupulous, may be estimated by the following extracts from a *Memoire en faveur de la Mission de Pragela*, addressed by the jesuits to the propaganda, and still preserved among the royal archives at Turin (No. 425). "It is essential to obtain a *pariatis** to arrest three ministers of Pragela, whom the parliament of Grenoble has condemned to imprisonment (for having presided over their religious meetings) and who have taken refuge in the valley of Luzerna with two other criminals. The marquis de Pianezza must command the governors of Luzerna and San Martino to seize them, wherever they are found. The people of Luzerna must be forbidden to lodge the merchants of

* A *lettre-de-cachet*; an order to imprison *at sight*.

Pragela, who trade in these parts. There are three heretics gone to trade at Turin, and who are lodging at the Red Horse : it is expedient to seize their merchandize, for as they cannot exist without it, the probabilities are, that they will be converted, if you promise they shall have their goods back. The governor of Suza, Meano, and Jalasso, must prevent the heretics of Pragela from living within his jurisdiction, for they preach their errors there in secret. You must expel from the valley of Luzerna, a person named Martino, a native of Balboutel, in Pragela. This young minister has succeeded the pastor Leger, whose house has been demolished ; he is quite as seditious as Leger, and capable of doing still more harm than he. . . . The king of France must have notice sent him that the secretary to the governor, and a captain in the citadel of Pinerolo, celebrate the protestant religion in their rooms, where they collect together for that purpose a number of Huguenot soldiers ; a proceeding that may pervert the catholics. . . . The Vaudois of Pragela must be forbidden to trade with or to sojourn in Piedmont." Another means of conversion, bribery, was also had large recourse to, and had some effect upon the more impoverished among the Vaudois. "By the distribution of not more than 2000 crowns," writes Pelisson Fontanier, one of the proselytizers, "we have converted from 700 to 800 persons to the Romish faith. . . . I have sent word that no occasion is to be lost of converting families, and I have authorized their going as high as 100 francs!" It is well known that a great proportion of these "converts" were foreign vagabonds, who passed themselves off as protestants in order to secure these wages of proselytism. Another influence to aid the catholic faith, was that of the dragoons, who were billeted, with full licence of every kind, upon the peasantry who professed the evangelical faith, and not withdrawn until a *conversion* was operated. The governorship of the valley of the Clusone becoming vacant, the prince de Conti purchased the office, for a sum of 8300 livres, and conferred it upon a zealous supporter of the missionaries, M. Bertrand, who applied himself fervently to his work. In order to augment the number of the propagandists, Alexander VII. granted (27th July, 1661) plenary indulgence to all brethren and sisters who should join the sacred congregation ; while, on the other hand, the prohibition to the Vaudois pastors to preach or teach beyond the strict limits of their assigned residence was rigorously renewed.

This was not enough ; the members of the Vaudois church had established daily prayer meetings, even in the smallest hamlets, the elder, or the chief elder of the locality acting as pastor. There were sixty of these chapels, and each morning and evening the village bell summoned thither the faithful to prayer and thanksgiving. The ringing of these bells was prohibited : the people made use, instead, of the horns with which they collected their herds together ; upon this, severe penalties were denounced against all persons who should preside over these meetings ; the christians assembled none the less ; each, in his turn, read passages of the Bible, in under tones, and offered up a prayer ; no one of them, in especial, had the direction of these pious and modest exercises ; the spirit of God alone presided over them.

"This race is incorrigible," cried the missionaries ; "we cannot bend it ; we must look to the rising generation." And to this effect, they began by forbidding protestants to keep schools ; next, they forbid them to bring up their own children. "We have gained a great victory in the Val de Perosa," wrote one of the Jesuits, in October, 1677 ; "we have obtained a decree that all the children hereafter born of Huguenot mothers and catholic fathers, shall be baptized and brought up catholics."

In 1678, six new popish cures were established in the Val di Pragela, under the direction and superintendence of the prior of Mentola. In all these new parishes, the deputy-bailiff read the royal proclamation which placed the cures under the especial protection of his most christian majesty, and prohibited any one from insulting them, in any way, under severe penalties ; and the popish narrative of the proceedings sets forth, with great unction, a list of sacred banners, sacramental plate, chandeliers, copes, crucifixes, pictures, money, &c. &c., the result of public and private subscriptions throughout France, which were bestowed, with infinite formalities, on the installed clergy.

The population of the valleys stood far more in need of subscriptions, for their poverty was greater than ever : "so great," writes one of the missionaries, "that we should be sure to convert a large number of them, in their distress, if we had only money enough." The unhappy Vaudois aided each other to the utmost of their power, establishing, for awhile, a sort of community of goods, and distributing supplies of food and other necessities at the doors of the churches ; but all their efforts, with such limited means, were inadequate to the purpose of preventing

distress of the most overpowering degree. All this while, the greatest favours were lavished on the catholics, and, especially, on the catholicized; they were exempted from various taxes, they were received into the hospitals when ill, they had distributions of money, clothes, and food, regularly administered to them, they were relieved from penalties that they might have incurred, their daughters were promised dowries. Yet, despite all these disadvantages, the evangelical faith not merely remained unsubdued, but actually effected fresh triumphs over popery; this is manifest from a decree of the 11th of July, 1680, forbidding catholics, under rigorous penalties, to embrace protestantism, and protestants to receive catholics in their churches. In July, 1682, there was sent forth an edict prohibiting the Vaudois ministers from holding religious meetings anywhere than at the place of their own actual residence, under penalty of a fine of 3000 livres, and dismissal from their office. In the following August, a decree forbade laymen to assemble together, *under pretext of prayer, reading the Bible, or singing of psalms, seeing that such assemblies might become tumultuous*. The very means of temporal existence were taken away from the Vaudois, as an effectual mode of striking at their spiritual existence: in this same year, 1682, the Vaudois, by a succession of prohibitions, were forbidden to exercise any profession or trade, from that of lawyer or physician down to that of shoemaker or washerwoman.

The Vaudois church of Pragela, which had preceded the reformed church of France in the path of evangelical worship, was destined also to precede it to the Calvary of persecution and death. Five months before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by an act of extreme and exceptional severity, the exercise of the protestant religion was expressly forbidden throughout Pragela, and all its churches were ordered to be demolished. Special edicts applied these revoltingly arbitrary orders to the valleys of Sezana, Oulx, and Exili. The churches of Fenile, Chaumont, and Salabertrans, in the valley of the Doria, were hereupon demolished, as were those of La Rua, Suchiere, Fenestrella, and Usseaux, in the valley of the Clusone. Others were left standing, in order to be converted into catholic churches, and were used as such for four years, when they also were demolished to make way for new edifices. Among these were the churches of Villareto and Traversa, the house and garden of which became the glebe of the curé. The materials of the demolished edifices were

applied to the construction of popish chapels; a portion of the consistorial lands, lately enjoyed by the Vaudois pastors, was applied to the endowment of the popish livings, and the remainder to the establishment of two hospitals, one at Sestrieres, and the other at Fenestrella.

It is easy to conceive the desolation which now overwhelmed these ancient churches of Pragela, which had so long enjoyed the privilege of evangelical worship. The Vaudois were plunged in inexpressible depression and anguish. The Bible, which had been transmitted from father to son among them, for so many ages, was about to be taken from them; the pastors whom they had cherished, were already proscribed, and no man could give them refuge under the severest penalties. These worthy descendants of the Barbas, quitted, in bitter sorrow, their despairing flocks, their eyes, filled with tears, still turned on the path of exile, towards the summits, more and more remote, of their native hills, where they had preached the word of God. A great portion of their people soon followed them, and even many who had been deemed converts to the Romish church. On reaching Switzerland, these exiles sent deputies to the elector of Brandenburg, to request an asylum in his states: "There are already," they said, "six hundred of us, and in the spring of next year (1686), as many more of our countrymen will expatriate themselves."

The account of the Vaudois colonies in Germany has already been given. We will now inquire into the condition of the protestants who remained in the valleys.

Le Tellier, who had been intendant in Piedmont in 1640, recalled the Vaudois to mind, half a century afterwards, when, on his death-bed, he included them in the monstrous provisions of the decree revoking the edict of Nantes, which, with his dying hand, he signed, on the 22nd October, 1685. By that revocation, the protestant worship was prohibited throughout the dominions of Louis XIV.; its churches were ordered to be demolished, its schools to be closed. Its ministers, who refused to embrace catholicism, were to quit the kingdom within fifteen days, while those who consented to abjure, were to receive pensions one-third larger in amount than the salaries which had been paid them as pastors, half of which pension was to revert to their widows. Every child thereafter born within the states of his most christian majesty, of whatever parents, was to be bap-

tized a catholic. All protestant emigrants were to return under the paternal and most christian domination of the French monarch, within four months, under penalty of the entire confiscation of their goods; and all protestants who should hereafter attempt to emigrate were to be condemned, the men to the galleys, and confiscation of goods, the women to imprisonment and confiscation of goods; confiscation being, in all cases, a leading feature in the proceedings. The "religionists," as the reformers were designated, were, by the last clause of the edict, permitted to remain in the royal dominions, *without practising any exercise of religion*, until it should please God to enlighten them.

But what, to the christian, is physical existence deprived of all the action of spiritual life? The protestants, as christians, preferred exile to the absence of religious life, and multitudes of them expatriated themselves at this epoch; only the very poorest remaining behind. Two thousand inhabitants of Pragela preceded or followed the expulsion of their brethren from the Piedmontese Vaudois valleys; in 1686 and 1687, most of these also returned to their country, and were installed there, pursuant to the decree of Victor-Amadeus in 1692. What, meantime, had become of those who remained on the banks of the Clusone?

Deprived not only of pastors, but of the right to hold any religious meeting among themselves, they did not hesitate regularly to cross the lofty mountains and deep valleys which separated them from their co-religionists in Piedmont, in order to share with these the service of the Sabbath. From Upper Pragela they repaired to Macegli by the Col de Pis, and from the lower part of Val Clusone to Pomareto, at the entrance of Val San Martino. In order to accomplish these pious pilgrimages of edification and brotherhood, they had to depart on the Saturday evening, returning early on the Monday morning, happy, amid all the difficulties and privations of the journey, that it afforded them at least one opportunity in the week, of meeting together in common supplication and thanksgiving to God.

Even prayers and exhortations offered up beside the bed of the sick and the dying, became matter of denunciation against the protestants. "The other day," wrote a popish missionary of the time, "the vicar-general of the provostry of Oulx gave information against John Challier, of Pourrieres, who was surprised, praying, after the manner of the protestants, at the bed-

side of one Peter Pastré, labouring under a dangerous malady. This is an offence calling for severe punishment!"

But even the arduous privilege of traversing the mountains to join in prayer with their less restricted brethren, was soon taken from the Vaudois of Pragela. The tyrant of Versailles wrote to his ambassador at the court of Turin: "The presence of the Vaudois of Piedmont on the frontiers of my dominions, occasions desertion on the part of my subjects, and you must represent to their prince that I am resolved no longer to endure this." The result of this haughty assumption has been already narrated. The Vaudois of Piedmont were driven, *en masse*, from their native land; and these valleys, the last sanctuary wherein, amid the Alps, the word of God was heard, became silent as the tomb. Under such terrible and reiterated blows, felling, with each stroke, a branch of the ancient tree, utter destruction seemed inevitable. And such, indeed, befel the Val di Pragela, whose church subsided and became extinct, as a lamp without oil. This poor persecuted church, this spouse of Christ, had been deprived of her temples and her ministers, of her prayers, of her prayer-men; by-and-by, the Romish church claimed the secular possessions, also, of the fugitive Vaudois, and Louis XIV. readily granted the demand. The glebe-lands remained; these, too, in 1688, were seized by the spoiler-monarch, and transferred to various catholic establishments.

In 1684 and 1686, two new catholic cures were established in Pragela; in 1687, five doctors of the Sorbonne were sent thither from Pragela, to aid the missionaries in effacing, as closely as possible, the still vivid traces of the Reformed church. In 1688, several new popish chapels were built; and, in the words of a contemporary publication, "the catholic religion was making manifest progress, when, in 1690, war having been declared between France and Savoy, a great diminution of piety was observed."

The fact of the matter was, that the Vaudois of Piedmont had returned to their valleys, and during the terrible winter of 1689, which they passed at Balsiglia, their brethren of Pragela frequently supplied them with provisions, themselves indulging the hope that, by the chances of war, the Val Clusone would remain in the possession of Victor-Amadeus, and be incorporated with the other Vaudois valleys.

This prince invaded Dauphiny in 1692. As the result of an

incursion of his troops into Pragela, all that portion of the valley which lies between Fenestrella and Perosa was given up to the flames, on the 25th of July, 1693, and four parishes were thus rendered uninhabitable. Their population withdrew, some to Savoy, others to the Briançonnais, but most into the Vaudois valleys of Luzerna and San Martino. The latter there resumed the exercise of the reformed religion, and, despite every impediment, continued its exercises, favoured by the war, which endured till 1696. Peace being then concluded, these "obstinate heretics" chose rather to quit their homes and their lands, than to resume the catholic religion. Of seventy-two families, who had occupied the parish of Borseto, but six remained; the rest constituted the emigration which founded, at New Engstedt, in Wurtemberg, the last Vaudois colony established in that country.

In 1694, indeed, the Vaudois might have entertained the hope of a more prosperous future, for the duke of Savoy, who, in 1692, had re-established them in their own country, had also invited the French protestants to follow the destinies of their co-religionists. Somewhat later, the inhabitants of Pragela sent a deputation to Victor-Amadeus II., soliciting him to grant to them the same guarantees which he had accorded to their brethren of the Piedmontese valleys; for the edict of the 23rd of May, 1694, while declaring that liberty of conscience should be recognised in the reformers, added,—“As to the Vaudois of Pragela and Perosa, professing the same religion, they shall only enjoy this privilege during ten years, next following the close of the present war.”

It was during these ten years of precarious toleration that protestantism assumed an unwonted vigour, and shed its last rays into the valley of Pragela.

In the first place, the people of that valley who had withdrawn to the territories of the duke of Savoy,—in number 222,—demanded, (2nd March, 1641,) and were allowed, to take the oath of fidelity to that prince. They then resumed their weekly visits to Macegli and Pomareto, to take part in the public worship celebrated in those places. It would also seem that family worship was religiously observed in most of the houses of Pragela; the judicial prosecutions, on account of religion, and the repressive measures incessantly carried on by the French authorities in the district, prove, by their very multiplicity, the pertinacity and extent of the attachment of the Vaudois to the biblical doc-

trines; that abiding cause, also, of the indefatigable rigours of the Romish church.

By-and-by, in virtue of the treaty of Turin, (18th August, 1696,) Art. VII., Louis XIV. required that Victor-Amadeus should discontinue to give asylum and protection to protestants of French origin. The duke, in consequence, issued, 1st July, 1698, the decree by which all such protestants were ordered to quit the states of Savoy within two months. The Vaudois pastors were, in like manner, forbidden to enter the territories of France, under pain of ten years labour in the galleys. We have seen what vast misery, and what vast migrations, were the result of these severities.

In the countries rendered desolate by those migrations, the number of catholic churches multiplied in proportion to the decrease of the population. Towards the close of 1698, Louis XIV. had two new Romish chapels built in Pragela, and established eight new cures, in addition to those which he had already endowed there. Next, the ardent and unscrupulous zeal of the promoters of apostasy was applied to the work of furnishing these new parishes with parishioners; and, for several years, popish missionaries, clerical and secular, high and low, male and female, spread themselves over the district, seeking to gain proselytes by promises and menaces of every description and degree. In 1703, however, war once more broke out between Piedmont and France, and Victor-Amadeus II. forthwith issued a proclamation in which he proffered protection and privilege to the Vaudois of the valleys, if they would take up arms against Louis XIV., and to the Vaudois of Pragela, if they would join their co-religionists in the struggle. The people, whom he had so persecuted, still came forward to defend him, and, ere long, to give him an asylum. They wrested Upper Pragela from the domination of France and from the oppression of the Romish church. They raised up their prostrated altars, and, beneath the protection of their victorious arms, the protestant worship was once more re-established. Victor-Amadeus had promised, in his treaty with England, (August, 1704,) that all those of the protestant religion who had emigrated from the Val di Pragela, should be re-established there, and enjoy all the property they might acquire there, with the free exercise of their religion; but the engagement was not observed; and, on the other hand, the Vaudois enfeebled themselves by internal divisions. The Val San Martino, and a por-

tion of that of Perosa, constituted themselves a republic, under the derisive protection of Louis XIV., and subsisted, as such, for four years.

Though this event had no political bearing, it had, none the less, a great influence, for the time, upon the position of the Vaudois.

The duke of Savoy was just enough not to involve in the responsibility of the proceeding the other portions of the Vaudois valleys. He granted them, on the contrary, generous aid. The war had impoverished them, famine began to be felt among them; the prince established in each commune a person to distribute bread to the poor. He himself, however, was far from being in prosperous circumstances. The French army had invaded his dominions. The duke de la Feuillade had taken possession of Savoy, in the spring of 1704, then penetrated into Piedmont by Mont-Cenis, and entered Suza, at the same time that the duke de Vendôme entered Vercegli. In the following year, the successes of these generals were still more conspicuous, and almost all the towns of Piedmont fell into their hands. At length prince Eugene raised the fortunes of the duke of Savoy, by beating the French army in 1706, under the walls of Turin. The consequences of this victory were important. The French, who withdrew upon Pinerolo, instead of marching upon Casale, as they had intended, lost in succession the Milanese, the district of Mantua, Piedmont, and lastly the kingdom of Naples.

War continued till 1710, but peace was not definitively concluded until 1713.

In 1708, Victor-Amadeus having got possession of Fenestrella, acquired dominion over the whole valley of Pragela, of which, theretofore, he had only possessed the upper portion, guarded by the Vaudois, and the lower extremity, which he had acquired on the surrender of Pinerolo, 13th March, 1707. This valley was hereupon subjected to the same administration which already governed the other portions of the Vaudois territory, and the same governor was assigned to them. The inhabitants were ordered to lay down their arms, and those who had quitted their houses were invited forthwith to return. The courts of England and Holland at once applied themselves to the procuring for the protestants of Pragela the same privileges that were enjoyed by their brethren in the other Vaudois valleys. Queen Anne wrote, with her own hand, a letter on the subject to Victor-Amadeus.

This prince's reply, dated 3rd of March, 1709, was of the most favourable character; but he represented that, for various political reasons, it was expedient to delay any public proceeding to the desired effect, until peace should be concluded. Meanwhile, in proof of the sincerity of his good-will towards the protestants, he enjoined the popish ecclesiastics of Pragela not to disturb the Vaudois in any way or degree, by reason of their doctrines, and even to permit those who had abjured protestantism to resume it if they so desired.

Four months afterwards, the archbishop of Turin directed his subordinates never to put forward the name or the authority of Victor-Amadeus, when they had to do with the heretics.

There seemed, then, no obstacle now to the re-establishment of the Vaudois church in Pragela. The pastors of the adjacent valleys repaired thither for the celebration of divine service. Schools were re-opened, religious meetings resumed, family worship once more rendered happy the domestic hearth, and many of the emigrants returned to their homes.

At the Vaudois synod, held at Angrogna, 11th November, 1709, the deputies of Pragela presented themselves, furnished with a commission, signed by the consuls, councillors, and more than 100 heads of families, in the name of all the protestants of the valley. They demanded admission within the body of the Vaudois churches, which was at once and gladly accorded; unity of body was with them only a visible manifestation of that unity of faith, which had never ceased to exist, and it was a joyful thing for the various representatives of the Vaudois church thus to render testimony of the spiritual union which had been maintained against all the members of that church, despite political divisions, despite all the cruel vicissitudes which had agitated their country.

Though separated, for more than a century, by the sword and the sceptre of two dynasties, they now met together such as they had been in ages long past, for the descent of the evangelical christians dates further back than the descent of kings.

But this was to be the last communion between these fraternal valleys—the last and solemn communion against which human policy hastened to protest.

“We authorize the acts of the synod of Angrogna,” said the intendant of Pinerolo, “with the exception of the second article concerning the admission of the people of Pragela, which article

we declare inadmissible and null, and absolutely reject, by reason that the inhabitants of Pragela are not included in the concession of privileges granted to the other valleys." While, however, their official recognition was thus refused, the Pragelans were privately assured that they would be in no way disturbed by reason of their worship.

England, meanwhile, continued to interest herself in behalf of the Vaudois. As the ally of Victor-Amadeus, she undertook the payment of the Vaudois troops, to whom had been confided the guard of the frontiers, each soldier receiving ten *Philips*; and the winter of 1708 having destroyed vegetation, other succours were sent to the distressed people by the same generous nation.

Without possessing organized parishes, the inhabitants of Pragela had now the privilege of meeting together for the celebration of their worship; and, as a strong plant, whose branches are permitted to grow for awhile without being cut, their church made rapid progress. "We see with sensible grief," said the popish curés of Pragela in an urgent memorial to the duke, "inhabitants of this valley, who had been converted, reverting furiously to heresy, and we pray your lordship to put an end to such abominations." The royal council which had been established at Pinerolo, and which had recently assumed the title of senate, applied itself to the restriction of a liberty so fatal to popery. To this purpose, it proceeded to impede the paternal relations which were being effected among the various Vaudois valleys; the ministers of the Val Luzerna were requested not to visit the Val Pragela, and the Pragelans and other French refugees, who had settled in the Val Luzerna, were ordered to quit that valley. The pastors, however, who had nothing to do with the political considerations which regulated the conduct of Victor-Amadeus, and who rightly considered the evangelical christians of Pragela as one of the most interesting portions of their flock, continued to visit them whenever they were required so to do, and the duties of their own special charge permitted. "On the 27th February, 1709," wrote the Romish missionaries, "there came to Pragela a heretic minister who perverted all the people. . . . On the 23rd March, M. Bastia (pastor of La Torre), came here and baptized three children; almost all the population were present."

The senate of Pinerolo, though not vested with authority to take any repressive measure against the exercise of a liberty

sanctioned by the sovereign, renewed, by way of manifesting its displeasure, the interdiction of the reformed worship in the valleys of Perosa and Pragela. The protestants, strong in their right, in their convictions, and in the necessity to protest against the tyranny from which they had so long and so severely suffered, replied to the manifesto of the senate by the most solemn act of their worship, and on the 7th April, 1710, for the first time in the past twenty-six years, they proclaimed at *Usseaux* the union of their beloved churches, the communion of all Vaudois hearts, by the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in which participated the inhabitants of all the valleys, fused in one sole family, with those of the Doria and the Clusone.

The catholic clergy of the latter valleys addressed to the senate of Pinerolo (28th May, 1710) a manifesto concerning the disobedience of the Vaudois to the interdiction which had been directed against them, accompanied with an opinion, drawn up by some lawyers of the party, that the Vaudois of Pragela were not legally entitled to liberty of conscience. "His royal highness," said the lawyers, "promised, in the treaty of 21st January, 1704, and by the preceding convention of Utrecht, that the protestants who had emigrated from Pragela, might return thither and exercise their religion as freely as they had done before they quitted the valley; the same privilege being granted to all other persons of the religion who might settle there, on the condition that none of them should attempt, in any manner, to divert the catholics from their religion, or to do them any harm. "Now the protestants of Pragela quitted that valley, precisely because their worship was interdicted there. They had not, then, liberty of conscience before they quitted it; in the terms of the treaty, liberty of conscience should therefore be withdrawn from them." In consequence of these proceedings, the duke of Savoy, by way of arriving at an estimate of the importance of the protestants of Pragela, required from them a statement, in detail, of their numbers, and of the amount of their property. The return made to this requisition showing that their numbers and property were not such as to make them formidable, the vexations recommenced. The Dutch ambassador complaining of this, the marquis di San Tommaso, minister of foreign affairs, replied that the Vaudois were turbulent rebels, who were treated with far more consideration than they deserved. Soon after this, they were commanded to observe the

catholic festivals, and in every way the propagandists resumed their work of oppression. All assemblages of more than twelve persons were prohibited, and next, the public exercise of the protestant religion was interdicted throughout Pragela. The English ministry, who had been favourable to the Vaudois, had meanwhile gone out of office, and, amidst more absorbing political events, the interests of the Vaudois were set aside by the protestant powers. By an arrangement with Louis XIV., Victor-Amadeus, at the same time, succeeded in acquiring the valley of Pragela, on condition of extirpating protestantism from the district, while, by the further exchange of the valley of Barcelonnette for the county of Nice, he deprived England of the sole ground upon which she could claim a right to intervene on the frontiers of Italy.

Thus was the religious future of a whole people sacrificed, by political machinations, to the ambition of popery. The treaty of Utrecht was signed on the 11th April, 1713. Towards the close of the preceding month, Victor-Amadeus had manifested towards the Vaudois the most favourable disposition; but, the treaty concluded, the monarch assumed towards the unhappy protestants an altogether changed aspect, and repairing, for the purpose of being crowned, to Sicily, where he remained till the middle of 1714, he left the enemies of the Vaudois full time and opportunity to destroy the church of Pragela. First, the intendant Pavia ordered that, for the future, no Vaudois schoolmaster should be instituted without the consent and approbation of the catholic clergy; next, several schoolmasters, already instituted, were summarily expelled; then, the protestant councils, syndics, and other magistrates of the Valley, were replaced by catholic magistrates; and by-and-by, in May, 1714, the commandant of Perosa entered Pragela at the head of a body of troops, forced open, in the middle of the night, the houses of the leading Vaudois, and seizing the heads of these families in their beds, loaded them with chains, and carried them off as prisoners to Fenes-trella. The English ambassador at the court of Turin made hereupon strong representations, in the name of his own sovereign, and in that of Frederick-William of Prussia, and these representations had, for awhile, the effect of modifying the tyranny practised upon the unfortunate Pragelans; but it was only for awhile; in all directions the pastors, the elders of the Vaudois communes, were seized, imprisoned, fined, compelled to

pay the expenses of the arbitrary persecutions conducted against them, or, in default of payment, stripped of all their little possessions. The schools were closed, all private meetings for prayer, of more than ten persons, interdicted, under a penalty of ten gold crowns for each offence; they were forbidden to work on catholic festivals; and finally, on the 6th of February, 1719, came a decree prohibiting the celebration of the reformed worship in any shape whatever, and commanding that all future children, born of Vaudois parents, should, within six hours after their birth, be baptized as catholics. To avoid this intolerable injustice, recourse was had to emigration, a fresh band departing after each fresh act of depression, until the Vaudois of Pragela disappeared from their valley, as snow from the mountain.

The great blow of all was the edict of the 20th of June, 1730, promulgated under the designation of *Instructions with respect to the Vaudois*. Under this edict, all persons born in the Romish church, or who had abjured protestantism, for whatever motive, and who had since returned to the reformed church, were condemned to death, unless they again reverted to catholicism, within six months, or quitted the country. The inhabitants of Pragela, Salabertrans, Bardoneche, and Chateau-Dauphin, were all to be taken as being catholics, without reference to their own opinions, and no other religion than the Romish was to be permitted in any shape or degree, in these valleys. All French protestants who, since 1698, had settled in the Vaudois valleys, were to quit them within six months, never again to re-enter them, under pain of a public whipping for the first offence, and of five years' labour in the galleys for the second. After the promulgation of this edict, the number of the Vaudois who expatriated themselves became so great, that the government grew alarmed, and endeavoured to take measures for retaining the population; but it was to no purpose; before the end of the year, more than 800 protestants had quitted the Vaudois valleys for Holland, Switzerland, and Germany; the few who remained in Piedmont were compelled to accept the public profession of catholicism.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS FROM THE EXPULSION OF 1698
TO THAT OF 1730.

By virtue of the edict of the 1st of July, 1698, all the French refugees, proscribed by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, who had withdrawn to the valleys of the Vaudois, on the express invitation of Victor-Amadeus II., obliged to quit this asylum, went, with a part of the native inhabitants of Pragela, and a great number of other Vaudois families that were allied to them, to found, in Germany, the colonies mentioned in the preceding chapters. This event, which stripped the Vaudois valleys of a large portion of their population, could not fail to be very mournful to the exiles. The measure which brought it about was certainly not for their interest; and this sudden and cruel expulsion of a portion of a people, forcibly dispersed and dragging its remnants into exile, ought properly to be looked upon as a fresh persecution.

But Providence must have had some motive in allowing this catastrophe; and now that the dust raised by this sudden revolution is removed from the eyes of the historian, one cannot mistake the providential influence which this extirpation of all foreigners from amidst the Vaudois must have had on the integrity and preservation of this Israel of the Alps, already tried by so many misfortunes, in the plan of the destiny to which they had been called. That step had only been taken by the king of Piedmont on the repeated, and perhaps imperious, demands of Louis XIV., whose catholic fury pursued his fugitive subjects even to the asylum of foreign hospitality; and Victor-Amadeus, in closing this asylum to the exiles of other nations, reassured the native inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys of their repose and future welfare. His views were wholly political, the results were wholly religious; but they did not develope themselves until some time afterwards.

Deprived of the seven pastors of foreign extraction, who were obliged to leave Piedmont before the 1st of September, 1698, the

Vaudois church held an extraordinary synod at Bobbio, on the 12th of August of the same year, in order to provide forthwith for the service of the parishes which would soon become vacant, or were already so; and six pastors of Vaudois extraction distributed among them the charge of the duties.

At the same time they required from the king authority to summon preachers from Switzerland, to take the place of the French ministers; and this authorization having been obtained, they wrote to the Academy of Geneva, which provided, without delay, the persons required.

The synod requested also that they should send, as soon as possible after the expiration of the term of their studies, the Vaudois students who were preparing for the evangelical ministry in the Swiss faculties of theology.

They represented the pressing necessities of the valleys, the debts with which their communes were overwhelmed, the destitution of the inhabitants, the misery, the poverty, the want of work, the bad harvests, and the impossibility in the Vaudois to provide for the maintenance of their pastors without foreign aid. This aid was not refused: the members of one body are bound to each other, and the inexhaustible charity of those protestants who then enjoyed a more favourable position than that of the people of the valleys of Piedmont, enabled the latter to raise up their worship and their schools.

Independently of the general meetings of the synods, which only took place once or twice a year, and, later, only once in five years, the pastors of each Vaudois valley had their private convocations, which brought them together every month. They preached in their parishes twice every Sunday, and had a service, followed by a sermon, every day in the week. One pastor, having no parish, undertook the direction of the school of La Torre.

The heaviest sacrifices were made on all hands by the Vaudois parishes to maintain their worship. The temporary suspension of the subsidies granted by queen Anne of England, to the Vaudois pastors, did not diminish their activity in the accomplishment of all the functions of their ministry.

Victor-Amadeus II. was at this time at variance with the court of Rome, on the subject of the monarchy of Sicily, and this variance lasted during a period of twenty years.

He was soon destined to be again engaged in hostilities with

France, and to draw on his states the scourge of war, still more fearful than the hatred of Rome.

In 1701, having recognised the duke of Anjou as king of Spain, he gave him his second daughter in marriage. But soon, drawn into a contrary course of policy, he turned his arms against his son-in-law, after having deceived France and Spain, during two years, with that duplicity of high position which men dignify with the name of diplomacy, and which would take away all prestige from the art of government, if it were based only on such means.

This capricious fluctuation of a policy which sacrifices all to its own interest, and which only remains constant in its inflexible selfishness, bursting asunder without remorse the bonds of honour and affection, in order to join the ranks of the stronger party, presents a mournful aspect of things, ever repulsive to men of upright minds.

All the powers of Europe had confirmed the election of the duke of Anjou as king of Spain, with the exception of Austria, who saw with jealousy a prince of the house of France ascend the throne of Charles II. But soon the whole Germanic empire, England, and Holland, formed a league to dethrone this monarch. The old hatred of these powers towards Louis XIV., who supported him, was the real motive for this step.

Victor-Amadeus, nominated generalissimo of the armies of France and Spain in Italy, instead of defending his son-in-law with affection, and his ally with loyalty, secretly sided with their enemies. The house of Austria had promised him Montferrat as the reward of his treachery; and, doubly perfidious, he fought against the imperialists in several encounters. These machinations lasted two years. The imperial armies, commanded by prince Eugene, and the French troops, by Catinat, met in Piedmont, in the middle of the year 1701. Marshal Catinat received several slight checks in succession, which he could not attribute to the mere skill of his adversary. He suspected that the duke of Savoy was conniving with his enemies, and suggested his suspicions to the court of Versailles, which rejected them. But, eighteen months afterwards, Louis XIV. could not help feeling that they were but too well founded, and, suddenly adopting one of those energetic resolutions incidental to arbitrary will, and developed by the habit of undisputed command, he ordered the duke de Vendome to disarm and take prisoners the troops of the duke of

Savoy, in the Milanese. These orders were executed. Three hundred and forty Piedmontese officers saw themselves unexpectedly deprived of their liberty and confined in different fortresses. Information of this reached Turin the 1st of October, 1703; the gates of the place were instantly shut; the greatest agitation prevailed in the court and the town; the French ambassador was arrested in his hotel; and the French residing at Turin received orders not to pass the walls; all the disposable troops were called out; those that were at Ivrea and elsewhere were recalled; relations with Austria became more intimate. The duke of Savoy sought to rally all his forces; and the following is the manner in which he gave the Vaudois advice of these events:—

“Dear and well-beloved friends,

“The unheard-of violence which the king of France has just offered to the faith of treaties and the law of nations, having caused our troops that were in his service in the Milanese to be disarmed, having retained our officers prisoners, and sent a body of troops to invade our states, . . . we inform you of this, persuaded that the same motive which has led you to display, on all occasions of wars gone by, your fidelity and zeal, will inspire you on this occasion, which is of especial import.

“We would have you to this end form yourselves into companies, without loss of time, as you did in the last war, and receive all the French refugees who seek your valleys; you should even invite them to come thither to act conjointly with you. Our commissaries will provide supplies for these troops. . . . Our states, our glory, our safety are at stake. . . . And hereupon, we pray God that he will have you in his holy keeping.”

The Vaudois immediately set on foot thirty-four companies of their brave militia, and soon attracted attention by their brilliant exploits.

The duke of Savoy having given them permission to nominate their own leader, they chose M. de Malanot, who had been one of their captains in the previous war; and before the end of the year they had already made several incursions on the frontiers of Provence and Dauphiny, and had exacted 50,000 livres of contributions from the latter province, besides a great number of cattle. They offered this money to his highness, but

he left it to them, in order to afford them the means of better arming and equipping themselves.

While the Vaudois were thus useful to him, Victor-Amadeus treated with great severity those who had complained of them in any way. This people, always sacrificed, either by the tyranny of its kings in the time of their power, or by its devotion in their cause when they were threatened with danger, signalized themselves by fresh exploits in the year 1704; but in the meanwhile their ranks had been increased by a number of French refugees, from Switzerland and Cevennes.

The latter had taken arms against Louis XIV. at the beginning of 1703. "This is no revolt," said they, in their manifesto, "nor a rebellion of subjects against their sovereign. We have always been submissive and faithful to him. . . . But it is a law of nature which obliges us to resist force with force; otherwise we should be the accomplices of our own misfortunes, traitors to our faith, to ourselves, to our country," &c.

In spite of the intrepidity of their chiefs, they were overpowered. The inhabitants of Orange, who had made a longer resistance, were banished, and withdrew to Prussia. The fugitives of Cevennes, whose heads were set at a price, or whose property had been confiscated, withdrew to the valleys.

The forces of Victor-Amadeus received an advantageous accession in these hardy partisans, accustomed to privations and dangers. Yet, in his prosperity, he had forbidden the Vaudois to give them shelter. Now, they were all cordially received, his states being in most imminent danger. The duke de la Feuillade had just taken possession of all Savoy. Shortly afterwards, he crossed the Alps. In June, 1704, he took the town and castle of Susa. A few days afterwards, the duke de Vendome made himself master of Vercelli, where nearly 6000 men were taken prisoners. Ivrea soon underwent the same fate.

Whilst the duke de Vendome was thus following up his success, the duke de la Feuillade was seeking to persuade the Vaudois valleys to desert the cause of their sovereign. After having possessed himself of Susa, he proceeded towards the valleys. He offered first to save them all the trouble of war, if they would remain neutral in the contest between him and the duke of Savoy. This fact suffices to show the importance of their arms. The inhabitants of the valleys of San Martino and San Germano, who were the most exposed, were somewhat disposed to this

neutrality, but M. Van-der-Meer, minister of the States-general, having proceeded thither with M. Arnaud, restored their courage and defeated the designs of the French. The marshal then, seeing that nothing was to be done by negotiation, hemmed in the Vaudois on every side: he ordered M. de Lapard to attack the fort of Miraboco, whilst he himself entered the valley of San Martino with the rest of his troops, and took possession of it. He proceeded thence to that of San Germano, where he met with vigorous resistance on the part of the Vaudois, who guarded the avenues to it, but were at length obliged to yield to the superior number of their enemies. Meantime, the marquis de Parelles arriving thither, with orders to march the neighbouring militia to the aid of the valleys, and the duke of Savoy having sent thither some regular troops, the militia of the valleys of San Germano sent their wives, their children, and their moveable effects to the neighbouring communes, and to the woods, after which they again assembled, under the command of M. de St. Hippolyte. They began, the same day, to regain their posts, and on the 1st of July they attacked the French at Angrogna, and defeated them, having on their side only five killed and seven wounded. This victory so disconcerted the enemy, that from that time they began to quit secretly the heights about Angrogna, and gradually they entirely abandoned the valley of Angrogna, and that of Luzerna.

It was not the same with respect to the valley of San Martino. The duke de la Feuillade persuaded some of the communes to form themselves into an independent republic, under the protection of Louis XIV.; his object was to have a resting-place for his troops in Piedmont, and to divide the country by enfeebling the sway of Victor-Amadeus. The valley of San Martino is notoriously one of the strongest in the Alps; it is not its extent that renders it important, but its position. Moreover, the Vaudois had acquired a reputation which made them appear greater than they really were. This people figured, so to speak, in the rank of a power, no doubt of the last order, but yet better known than many others who had a right to this title.

This explains how Louis XIV. condescended to sign, with all the forms of a serious treaty, the inconceivable mystification, or the puerile *ruse de guerre*, which, for four years, gave a factitious position to the *republic of San Martino*.

These are the principal clauses of this treaty:—

"The chiefs, elders, syndics, counsellors, captains, and other officers of the valley of San Martino, Pomareto, Envers-Pinache, and Chenevières, catholics, as well as those of the reformed religion,—1stly, are formed into a republic and recognised as such, under the protection of the king of France and his successors; 2ndly, they shall frame their own laws, which shall be approved and maintained by his most christian majesty; 3rdly, they shall establish among themselves liberty of conscience, with the proviso that French refugees may not come among them, and enjoy the same; 4thly, that for the confirmation and defence of the said republic, his majesty will maintain at his expense the necessary troops."

This was what La Feuillade wanted; and, not to revert to this subject, let us say at once that the destinies of this ephemeral republic were as disastrous for those who composed it, as for their neighbours. The French troops established there conformably with the treaty, and who occupied it during the whole period of its existence, made hostile incursions on the neighbouring territories. A collection of vagabonds from all countries came there to seek shelter. The pastors and schoolmasters being no longer supported by the English supplies, and perhaps banished by some popular caprice, were obliged to depart, penniless vagrants. Elementary education and divine worship fell rapidly into decay; and when the people asked for pastors, they obtained young, inexperienced men, who were guilty of the greatest irregularities. The Vaudois considered this valley as lost to their church, and feared that, the unity of their body being thus broken, the loss of the whole would follow. But at last, the war being at an end, the valley of San Martino came once more under the sway of Victor-Amadeus, who granted a complete amnesty to all its inhabitants, in consideration of the fidelity shown by the valley of Luzerna, where he had found an asylum at the time of his misfortunes; for the French generals had deprived him temporarily of all his states.

The duke de Vendome, who had laid siege to Verrua on the 22nd of October, 1704, took possession of that place on the 10th of April, 1705, after the most courageous defence ever made by a besieged town.

The duke de la Feuillade took by assault the towns of Villafranca, Montalbano, and Nice, the governor of which removed to the citadel, but could not hold out there more than three days.

Miradola surrendered at discretion, on the 11th of May, after twenty-two days' bombardment. On the 16th of August, the imperial and Savoyard troops, commanded by prince Eugene, were defeated near Cassano; and not long afterwards the fortifications of Nice, Ivrea, and Verrua, were destroyed by the French. Next year the latter obtained a brilliant victory at Calcinato. They invested Turin on the 12th and 13th of May, and in the night of the 3rd of June they opened the trenches. The duke of Savoy retired to Bubiana, where he received a deputation of the officers and pastors of the Vaudois valleys. He then went to Luzerna, where the Vaudois gave him a sure retreat, in the same deep valley of Rora where Gianavello, with eighteen men, had stayed an army, and before which also the enemy, which had pursued the duke of Savoy as far as Bricherasio, were arrested, perhaps once more by the Vaudois arms. Victor-Amadeus, in thus retiring amidst these valiant mountaineers, was actuated not only by the desire of seeking a place of refuge, which he could not have found elsewhere, but by the wish to bind them to his service by personal demonstrations of kindness, that might blot out from their memory their past sufferings. He knew, indeed, that the duke de la Feuillade had offered them the protection of France. It was of the greatest importance to prevent a similar desertion to that of the valley of San Martino, or at least to give the valley of Luzerna marks of confidence and good-will worthy of its fidelity. Victor-Amadeus II. intended besides to organize the military force of these faithful subjects, who crowded round him in great numbers, and form a body-guard out of them, to take the place of the Swiss, who had deserted him.

He arrived at Carmagnola, escorted by 600 Vaudois and 100 Camisards, who had belonged to the intrepid regiment of Cavalier. He did not leave without thanking the secretary-general of the valley of Luzerna for the good offices he had done him, in the name of all the inhabitants of the valley; and he gave a silver goblet to those who had entertained him at Rora.

At Carmagnola, prince Eugene came to join him with eight regiments of troops of the line, and 4000 dragoons. The duke stayed a few days at the castle of Pianeza, and marched thence to Turin, of which he raised the siege, after a brilliant victory by which he recovered his states. The loss of the vanquished only amounted to 2000 men; but their consternation was such, that instead of proceeding to Casale to protect the Milanese, their

army returned to Pinerolo, previous to retiring into Dauphiny, abandoning all they had conquered.

The Vaudois, commanded by colonel Saint-Amour, harassed them during the whole of their retreat, and took from them several convoys. They had established a flying camp, which was transported with rapidity from mountain to mountain, and which made incursions even into Dauphiny.

The war was feebly carried on during some years. In 1707, the French and Spanish troops restored to the allies the places that remained to them in Lombardy, and evacuated that country.

In the following year, Victor-Amadeus tried to get possession of Dauphiny; but the able marshal de Villars, governor of that province, defeated all the designs of the duke. The latter regained, however, the Cisalpine territory which had been taken from him by la Feuillade, and among other places the valley of San Martino. He had pitched his camp near Mentola, where a deputation from the valley of Luzerna came to solicit his clemency in favour of their misguided co-religionists, whose petty republic had vanished before the shadow of his vanguard.

"His majesty," said one of these deputies, "conversed with us for about half an hour, with the kindness of a father and an urbanity almost unexampled on the part of a sovereign towards his subjects." Nor did he refuse his pardon to those in whose behalf it was solicited, only requiring them to renew to his dynasty their oath of fidelity. He at the same time authorized the institution of a synod for the purpose of providing for the wants of the restored parishes.

It was in 1708, also, that the duke of Savoy entered into possession of Montferrat, which had been guaranteed to him by Austria, at the time of his alliance with the imperialists. The following year passed without any remarkable incidents; but in 1710, marshal de Berwick was sent to Savoy by Louis XIV., and the Vaudois once more took up arms in the cause of their prince. It was proclaimed at Turin, that those who chose to go and serve among them should receive pay and the ordinary rations of militia to the end of the campaign. Victor-Amadeus II., on 26th May, 1711, declared that he intended to command his troops in person, and shortly afterwards he had regained Savoy. The following year, the marshal de Berwick crossed Mount Genevre with a French army, and encamped at Cesana. Thence he made himself master of the valleys of Oulx and Pragela. The king of

Piedmont raised the camp of San Columbano, where he then was, and went to drive the enemy back. Meantime, the baron de Saint Remy had taken possession of the valley of Barcelonnette; and the Vaudois, amidst all these manœuvres, of which they were the centre, acted with their accustomed valour. Several excursions and victorious skirmishes which they made at this time greatly contributed to check the enemy, and gave them the means of providing themselves with ammunition, and equipping themselves at their adversaries' expense. The king, in token of his satisfaction, ordered the count di Bagnolo to send a commissary to Pinerolo, to pay the arrears that were due to these valiant militia, to whom he even offered a continuation of pay, on a war footing, if they chose to continue to defend the passages of the Alps, as heretofore.

The treaty of Utrecht had rendered Victor-Amadeus the peaceful possessor of his increased states. The upper valleys of the Clusone and the Doria remained to him, with the county of Nice, in exchange for the valley of Barcelonnette, which remained to France. The Pragelans were present by deputy at the general synod of the Vaudois churches, which took place at this time for the re-organization of their church. But they did not long enjoy this favour; the acts of this assembly were declared executive, with the exception of the incorporation of the ancient Vaudois parishes of Pragela with the assembly of those of the valleys.

Henri Arnaud, who had come to resume his duties in the valleys in 1703, departed thence in 1707. The king of England in vain invited him to visit his court.

The modest pastor of the Alps, unable to reside among the inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys, which he had reconquered, preferred to rejoin his companions in exile, in the colony on the banks of the Eintz, where he occupied himself, like Xenophon, in arranging the narrative of his patriotic labours.

The Vaudois tribe whom he had just quitted were destined to undergo a still harder lot. Impoverished by their recent misfortunes, and by the war just now brought to an end, they exhausted their own resources in order to provide for the wants of the numerous refugees they had received. While taking away its labourers from agriculture, the military enrolments had increased the number of mouths to be filled; and without the foreign aid which was accorded to the Vaudois, the generosity of

their prince could scarcely have prevented them from falling into the most abject misery.

This state of wretchedness lasted many years. The Vaudois church, nevertheless, seemed to be consolidating itself. The inhabitants of these countries had once more found friends. Several of the magistrates sent to govern them became their protectors. But the bounty of their sovereign and the esteem of their neighbours could not prevail over the hostile influence of the Romish church, which persecuted them incessantly. It obliged them to forbear all manual labour on the catholic festival-days, and forbad foreigners to enter their temples to worship, and, under pretext of public safety, their dearest rights were taken away from them. Vexation was heaped upon vexation; crimes committed upon the Protestants were left unpunished. The complaints of the Vaudois were unheard; their synods could only settle private grievances, maintain union in families, watch over morality, and preserve discipline. The Vaudois church increased the number of prayers and public fasts, so as to secure the blessing of God, amid the agitation and change around them.

The promulgation of the ancient Piedmontese statutes, which aggravated the position of the Vaudois, concurred with the opening of the council of Embrun to foment the dissensions aroused by the bull *Unigenitus*.

The Vaudois in vain remonstrated to obtain a more just and more equitable disposition of things; on the contrary, there were heaped upon them fresh severities, and the edict of 20th June, 1730, published under the form of *instructions* to the senate of Pinerolo, cemented and codified, so to speak, all the measures under which they had groaned. Then it was that, for the second time, all protestant foreigners were expelled from the valleys, and that, with a very few exceptions, all the protestant natives of Pragela saw themselves banished thence, without hope of return.

The members of the Vaudois church and its foreign protectors vainly protested against this abuse of power; their just grievances were answered by insidious subtleties, or by promises, almost always illusory. They renewed their requests; but these declarations of right only gave rise to injustice, and the refusals of justice only enlarged the field of vexations.

"The close of the eighteenth century," says M. Monastier,

"witnessed, in the valleys also, the decline of that religious feeling which had universally become weakened." We shall see these seeds of moral and religious weakness developed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INFLUENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
ON THE VAUDOIS CHURCH.—COURSE OF EVENTS UNTIL THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1780 — 1792.

At the period represented by the opening of this chapter, questions of form were still disputing among themselves an empire which no longer appertained to them.

"We are sorely troubled," wrote they of the valleys; "for those baptized or born catholics before 1686, and those who became catholics in the time of persecution, but who returned to their church with the return of tranquillity, as the edict of 1694 authorized them to do, have been ordered, contrary to that edict, to renounce protestantism, and not to leave the country, in order to preach it elsewhere, on pain of the confiscation of their property, and of the galleys."

"On the 23rd June last," says another Vaudois, "one of my daughters, named Catherine, was carried off without our being able to discover what had become of her; but a few days after, her little brother, aged seven years, met her, and she, taking him by the hand, led him to Perriero, to the house of the priest, Don Quadro. I proceeded to the house of that ecclesiastic to claim my children, but he refused to give them up, alleging that they were catholicized. I then said that the little one, of seven years of age, was not of reasonable age for such a ceremony; but in vain—I never saw them again."

The Vaudois pastors at Pinerolo prayed that these children might be given up to their unhappy father: but they only obtained empty promises; and a similar request to the king seems to have been unanswered. Yet the edict of the 18th August, 1655, did not authorize the abjuration of children, contrary to the will of their parents, until they had attained a certain age.

We read, in the synodal acts of the valleys : "The assembly, grieved to see that, contrary to the edicts of our sovereigns, and clearly against the patent of Pinerolo, of 1655, children have been carried from their parents, has resolved to pray your majesty to have them restored ; and that, for the future, there may be observed, in our favour, the royal and gracious dispositions of your majesty, and of your glorious predecessors."

The representations of the synod being of no avail, they recurred to the mediation of England, which produced no better results. "We have not taken their children from the Vaudois," was the answer to the English ambassador, "we have only received into the hospital of refuge those who came thither of their own free will."

The monks and curés spread through the valleys were the natural purveyors of this hospital of detention. The government was asked to limit the number of these ecclesiastics ; but so far from diminishing them, it increased them.

Nor were these the only troubles. If, for instance, an old man, either from weakness of mind, or any other cause, was induced to embrace catholicism, it was decreed that his children, brought up in the protestant faith, should abandon their own convictions and enter the Romish church. As to illegitimate children, they were altogether regarded as the property of popery. And the guilty mother had the grief, no less cruel than her disgrace, of seeing her offspring torn from her arms to be transported to the hospitals for the catholicized.

On the other hand, the Vaudois valleys suffered great physical privations during nearly all the eighteenth century ; sometimes arising from public events, sometimes from bad harvests ; sometimes aggravated by fiscal prosecutions, or by unforeseen misfortunes ; here bringing families to ruin, there demoralizing them.

This excessive poverty partly proceeded from want of labour and commerce, the sad result of the prohibitions of all sorts which weighed upon the Vaudois ; it was partly owing, besides, to the superabundance of that population, confined within the insurmountable limits of the three valleys, in which they were enclosed.

But we must admit, to the honour of the evangelical doctrines, that the foreign protestant churches were as constant in alleviating the miseries of the Vaudois, as was poverty in afflicting them.

The king of Sardinia might, perhaps, have contributed more

effectually to help them; for they had given him recent proofs of their fidelity.

"You know, gentlemen," wrote the intendant of Pinerolo, to the Vaudois ministers, in 1733, "that his majesty, our sovereign, has declared war; and you are, doubtless, aware that he is now setting out to put himself at the head of the army. I must then inform you that you are requested, if you please, to exhort your people to use extraordinary prayers for the success of his arms." We shall see, further on, that the Vaudois themselves contributed, by their valour, to render them glorious.

The cause of this war, however, was very remote from the interests of the Piedmontese people. The question was the crown of Poland, which the emperor of Austria wished to place on the brows of the elector of Saxony. France opposed this measure, and the king of Sardinia allied himself with France. He united his troops to those of the marshal de Villars, and took several places in Italy from Austria. The death of the marshal put an end to the exploits of Charles-Emanuel III., but did not prevent him from gathering their fruits; for the treaty of peace which he concluded in the following year with the court of Vienna, augmented his states by the whole Novarese and some other Lombardian districts.

In 1742, the French army attempted an invasion of Piedmont, by the defiles of the Vaudois Alps. Charles-Emanuel drove it back into Dauphiny.

In the following year, the French, having made an alliance with the Spaniards, penetrated into Piedmont by the Var, and vanquished the king of Sardinia, near Conio, on the 30th September, 1744. They afterwards laid siege to Conio, but could not take it. Here, say the historians, the Vaudois displayed great valour.

Three years after, the battle of Assiette took place, the success of which, chiefly owing to the Vaudois, was greatly to aggrandize the possessions of their sovereign. The attention of that sovereign being thus favourably attracted to the faithful and brave inhabitants of the Vaudois mountains, Charles-Emanuel at first granted them some favours.

They were allowed to have notaries of their own communions; civil justice showed itself less partial against protestants, and authority protected them; but the Romish church only became more active in its machinations to vex and proselytize. It at

once obtained new *instructions*, more rigorous than those of 1730, and permission to establish, at the entrances to the valleys, the office for abduction, which had been theretofore maintained at Turin, under the title of *Refuge* or *Inn of Virtue*. This establishment soon grew more extensive, and many attempts at abjuration were made, not only on children, but even on grown persons. The Vaudois church, on its side, appreciated still more strongly the necessity of strengthening its discipline and its organization. It obtained authority to be officially represented by directors elected from its own synods, and it regulated the pay of its pastors and schoolmasters, &c. In the year 1727, was instituted the little protestant church of Turin, which had no regular service till a century later.

The long-forgotten wrecks of the ancient Vaudois churches, in the French Alps, raised, from time to time, their heads, and, with new scions that sprang up, formed a union with the churches of Piedmont. During this period, the spirit of the future began to manifest itself. The secular hostility of popery against the reformed church was being gradually effaced from among the more enlightened representatives of both religions. The Vaudois experienced less difficulty in perfecting the exercise of their worship. Fresh motives attached the interests of their church to the union of its members and the sanctity of their lives. Thus the old obstacles which had made men fear for the existence of the Vaudois church, and the internal dissensions which had menaced its happiness, disappeared. The cause which had produced them had been but of too long continuance; for, from the son of Reynaudin, to the learned and caustic Peyrani, there had always been in the valleys some pastor whose scholastic life had not only been heedless, but too frequently reprehensible. But these instances became more and more rare; and the acts of contrition, humility, repentance, the numerous appeals of the Vaudois church to the spirit of God by means of fasts and prayers, were at last heard. It issued for the second time, so to speak, from the middle age.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS DURING THE WARS IN ITALY, AFTER
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1789—1801.



EXCITING as the scenes of the French revolution were, they produced in the Vaudois valleys at first only a feeling of prudent reserve. In a sermon preached in public, in 1789, a Vaudois pastor, having alluded to the events then passing on the other side of the Alps, was suspended from his duties for six months; facts that prove the existence of secret sympathies with the course of events. And as if the genius of the past had foreseen its defeat, the odious and fanatical spirit of ancient popery raised itself once more, on the threshold of this new era, to conspire the massacre of the Vaudois, to respond, by fresh martyrdoms, to the republican exclamation—"Liberty—Equality—Fra-

ternity!"—with which the echoes of our mountains began to vibrate. In 1792, war was declared between France and Austria. Piedmont supported the latter power. Towards the end of the year, Savoy, conquered by Montesquieu, and the province of Nice, by Anselme, were united to France, which was just now formed into a republic.

The king of Sardinia (Victor-Amadeus III.) having made the Vaudois take arms, entrusted to them the defence of their frontiers, under the orders of general Gaudin. Catholic fanaticism conceived the idea of a second St. Bartholomew against the protestant families thus deprived of their natural protectors, who were occupied in the defence of their country. The execution of this plot was fixed for the night of the 14th May, 1793. The list of conspirators contained more than 700 names. A

column of assassins, assembled at Luzerna, was, at a preconcerted signal, to spread themselves over the communes of San Giovanni and La Torre, and put all to fire and sword. The house of the curé of La Torre, his church, the convent of the Recollets, and some other catholic houses in the place, were filled with cut-throats, alike ready for pillage and murder. But there were also generous catholics, who had refused to join in this odious conspiracy.

“Signor Odetti was a captain of the Piedmontese militia, then embodied, and acting against the French invaders, and a little before the fatal blow was to have been struck, he had been invited to join the conspirators in the massacre of the Vaudois. Signor Odetti was a rigid Romanist, and it was expected that the well-known severity of his principles would have induced him to sanction any measure for the destruction of heresy. The curé of Luzerna, M. Brianza, was also admitted into the secret; but these two worthy men had too much of the real spirit of christianity even to conceal, and much less to join in the plot. Brianza sent a private messenger to La Torre, to apprise the inhabitants of their danger, but did not succeed in putting them sufficiently upon their guard. Odetti, knowing that the hour of action was so near that nothing but very prompt measures could frustrate the sanguinary design, set out from Cavour himself, which is on the other side of the Pelice, and at some distance from La Torre, and hastened to his friend, to give him the alarming information. ‘I am afraid,’ said he, ‘that I am too late to prevent bloodshed. There is a conspiracy against you. The assassins are even now on foot; but if I cannot save you, I will perish with you. The honour of my religion is at stake; I must justify it by sharing your danger.’

“The consternation in La Torre was beyond all description at the horrible intelligence, which was now spread from house to house, and every habitation soon assumed the appearance of hopeless terror. The windows were closed and barred, and piles of stones were collected to hurl down upon the heads of the assailants; but aged men, and women and children, were the only persons left to use them. The strength and flower of the population were eight or nine miles off, and occupied in defending the mountain passes against the French. Scarcely a man who could bear arms was away from this loyal duty; and yet this was the moment at which no less than 700 bigoted monsters had

sworn to extirminate all the protestants of the valley of Luzerna, and to spread murder and devastation from San Giovanni to Bobbio.

"But even assassins like these must have some false motive to disguise their real object. Piedmont was at this period the scene of operations between the French and the allied armies. The plan of the campaign, on the part of the republicans, was, to penetrate into the country with a vast superiority of forces, to extend their line from the Valais to the sources of the Stura, and to seize the first favourable opportunity to march upon the capital. The invading army had a division of 25,000 men preparing to move upon the provinces of Pinerolo and Saluzzo only, and keeping up a line of communication with 50,000 more, who were waiting to strike a blow against Turin. The French troops had met with such effectual resistance in attempting to enter the valleys of the Vaudois by the other passes, that they determined to try what could be done in a quarter where they were not so much expected to make an attack. A detachment crossed the mountains between Mount Viso and the Col d'Aliries, or Abries, and suddenly appeared before the fort of Miraboco, which stands at no great distance from the source of the Pelice, and at the very extremity of the valley of Luzerna. Not a Vaudois was in the fort when it surrendered; but the fanatical party thought it a good opportunity to inflame the public mind against the protestants, and it was pretended that they had betrayed the fortress.

"Not an instant was to be lost; the day was already arrived when captain Odetti gave the information, and at sunset the murderers were to begin to assemble.

"The only chance of safety consisted in sending notice of the plot to general Gaudin, a Swiss officer, who commanded the Piedmontese troops on the nearest frontier. That brave man turned a deaf ear to the messenger, because he could not believe in the existence of so base a conspiracy. Another and another messenger arrived, but with no better success. At length several fugitives made their appearance from La Torre; the dreadful news reached the Vaudois soldiers themselves, and, in a state of the utmost apprehension for the lives of their families, they insisted upon being despatched to their succour. The general became sensible of his error, but not in time to give him hopes of being able to preserve the innocent victims. The day was

wearing away, the fatal hour was named in which the work of blood was to commence, and nothing but extraordinary speed could possibly enable a detachment to reach the spot before it began. To repair his unfortunate error, the general commanded the brigade of Vaudois to march instantly, and followed himself with another division.

"The wretched husbands and fathers pursued their way in almost frantic desperation. The imminent danger of their wives and children rendered any regularity of march out of the question; they precipitated themselves down steepes which they would have shuddered to encounter upon any other occasion, urged each other on with wild shouts, and prayed aloud to Heaven to give them additional speed. As they advanced on the road, they were repeatedly met by parties of distracted women and frightened children, sent forward from La Torre to hasten their pace. Many of these, in their terror and despair, assured them that they were too late: that the business of death was even then proceeding.

"With breathless haste, and in a state of excruciating suspense, they hurried on. The shades of the evening fell with increasing darkness, and with them a storm of rain that brought the torrents down the mountains, and threatened to impede their further advance. They began to accuse Providence of being leagued against them. The waters poured down from the heights in such accumulated violence, that it was almost madness to prosecute their march; nothing but desperation could have prompted them to go on. The last torrent that they had to pass was rushing with unusual impetuosity, but they dashed through it in safety, and in a few minutes after arrived within sight of La Torre. At the same moment they heard the tolling of the vespers bell of the convent of the Recollets; this, they had been told, was to be the fatal signal for the assassins to sally forth.

"The unhappy men felt that they were too late. 'We will revenge,' they cried, 'if we cannot prevent!'—and their speed was not abated. They rushed into the street of the village; the tramp of their feet, and the clangour of their arms, were heard within the houses; and, to the unutterable joy of these gallant deliverers, hundreds of voices were raised to welcome and bless their appearance.

"The arm of God had done that which man's could not do.

The time was not enough to allow of the arrival of the Vaudois, before the signal was to have been given for the conspirators to put themselves in action; but the rain-storm, and violence of the torrents, which had no terrors for men advancing in a good cause, had alarmed and stopped the murderers. Many of those who should have arrived at the rendezvous had not reached it, and those who were there dared not move forward upon this sanguinary enterprise until their numbers were increased.

“Considering the violent state of excitement to which the passions of the Vaudois soldiery were raised, it is natural to suppose that, surrendering themselves up to the feelings of the moment, they wreaked their vengeance upon the most criminal, at least, of their enemies. But no; not a drop of blood was spilt. Satisfied with the preservation of their friends, they were guilty of no violence upon the persons or property of any of the papists who were accomplices in the plot. The assassins escaped in the darkness of the night, and the Vaudois took no other steps towards their chastisement, than to forward a list of the conspirators to the government, who made no inquiry into the matter, and suffered them to go unpunished.

“The guilty escaped, but the innocent were disgraced. General Gaudin was tried by a military commission for suffering his detachment to quit the frontiers. Upon that charge he was acquitted; but he had excited the jealousy of the court by favouring the protestants, and was first removed from the command of the troops in the valley of Luzerna to the valley of San Martino, and afterwards was dismissed from the service, without receiving any mark of the royal approbation. His successor, general Zimmerman, was a Romanist, but his sense of equity would not allow him to bear hard upon the Vaudois; on the contrary, he made repeated representations to the king in their favour, and at last succeeded in obtaining certain privileges which were never before conceded to them. It is almost like a fable to record what these concessions were, in return for ‘the constant and distinguished proofs of their attachment and fidelity’ to the royal cause. But they appear among the state papers of the day, and were, first, ‘*permission to practise medicine among themselves*’; secondly, ‘an investigation into the choice of municipal officers, placed at the head of protestant communes, many of whom were ineligible to the office from their general want of qualification’; thirdly, ‘an amendment of the law by which the

protestant children might be forcibly taken from their parents, and educated in the Roman-catholic religion ;' and fourthly, a promise, that 'if any charge should be brought against the Vaudois from which Roman catholics are exempt, we shall see that justice is administered.'

"These magnificent concessions were headed with the following preamble, and dated 4th June, 1794, a convincing proof that there could be no foundation for accusing the Vaudois of betraying fort Miraboco, or of any other treason against the state.

" 'We have read the memorial presented to us from you, by general Zimmerman, respecting the desires expressed by our dear and faithful subjects the Vaudois, relating to their actual political existence. In consideration of the constant and distinguished proofs which they have ever given to our royal predecessors, of their attachment and fidelity, and the zeal which they have shown in *pressing into the army for the defeat of our enemies*, we are disposed to receive their memorial favourably, and to make them feel, from the present moment, the effects of our special protection; making only some reservation as to some articles which require more explanation; granting them, after the war, such concessions as may be compatible with the constitution of the state, and which may assure them of the *value we entertain for their services*, and the interest which we take in their existence and their happiness.

(Signed)

" 'VICTOR-AMADEUS.' "

On the 10th of October, 1796, a new king, Charles-Emanuel IV., ascended the tottering throne of Victor-Amadeus III., and to him the Vaudois addressed a memorial, in which they prayed: 1. That they might not be required to contribute to the expenses of the catholic worship. *Refused*. 2. That municipal elections should be made without distinction of creed. *Refused*. 3. That any diminution of taxation conceded to the Roman catholics might also be conceded to the protestants. *To be considered*. 4. That the Vaudois, without building new churches, might be permitted to repair those they had. *To be considered*. 5. That the inhabitants of San Giovanni might establish a school. *Refused*. 6. That the protestants might be admissible to civil employments equally with the catholics. *Not answered*. But by the 18th of July, 1797, the triumphs of Napoleon had forced upon kings new notions,

and accordingly, on that day, Charles-Emanuel IV. volunteered a decree, by which it was enacted: 1. That the Vaudois should not contribute to the expenses of the Roman-catholic worship. 2. That there should be no exception of creeds in municipal elections. 3. That when his majesty granted diminution of taxation, the protestants should share the benefit equally with the Roman catholics. 4. That the Vaudois might not only repair their churches, but might build new places of religious assembly wherever they thought fit. In virtue of this decree, the Vaudois of San Giovanni requested permission to erect a church in their commune. But Napoleon had quitted Italy; the first enthusiasm had abated; and, his throne seeming secure, the benevolence that Charles-Emanuel had proffered to the Vaudois grew cool in proportion. And accordingly the people of San Giovanni received for answer, that their parish, having been heretofore deprived of a church, had no right to one now. But again new events occurred in France; Piedmont seemed to be menaced, and there was a deep interest exhibited in favour of the valleys. The commune of Pomareto availed itself of this to demand authority to enlarge and enclose its protestant cemetery. This favour was accorded; but, so soon as the government thought itself once more strong, the favour, small as it was, was withdrawn.

On the 10th of December, 1798, Charles-Emanuel IV. abdicated the crown of his fathers, and retired to Cagliari.

The provisional government which was then instituted in Piedmont was of very short duration. A fresh coalition was formed against France, and, ere six months had elapsed, Piedmont was invaded by a Russian army, under the command of Suwarrow. Napoleon was no longer there; Milan, Turin, Alexandria, fell into the hands of the allies. The republics of Genoa and Naples were soon no more. The French army, victorious at the Trebia and at Novi, retired, exhausted by its successes, before the superior force.

At Carmagnola, the native population rose against the garrison, and the bravery of the Vaudois contributed much to the suppression of the rebellion. Still the French had to retire. The Cossacks had just taken possession of Pinerolo. The wounded French invalids, the august wreck of the army of Verona, gave way before them. It was to the humanity of the venerable Emanuel Rostang, pastor of Bobbio, and the devotion of his

parishioners, that the French wounded, 300 in number, owed their restoration to their country. After tending them with the greatest solicitude, distributing among them the few provisions he had, and binding up their wounds, Rostang besought his fellow-countrymen in the valley to carry on their shoulders, beyond the Piedmontese frontiers, the French invalids, now menaced by the approaching foe. It was done. They crossed, with these burdens, the Col la Croix, one of the most difficult of the Alpine range, and then covered with snow. After ten hours' laborious march they reached the nearest French village, where they left the wounded. These forgot their wounds to bless their liberators, and the brave inhabitants of Luzerna returned to their own homes.

This devoted action, however, was imputed to them as a crime by their Piedmontese enemies; and Suwarrow addressed to them a threatening proclamation. He reproached them with fostering the French, the enemies of public tranquillity. "The old attachment of your ancestors to christian tenets," he said, "has procured for you the protection of England. The French declare themselves hostile to that power; and that power, your benefactress, is it not now our ally?" Already the Russian troops had arrived at Pinerolo. "On the 3rd of June, 1799," says Appia, in his memoirs, "foreseeing that the enemy would appear in great numbers towards Luzerna, I rose at the break of day; but before I was dressed, the Cossacks were already dashing about the streets of La Torre, uttering fearful hurrahs.

"My colleagues were absent; the invaders had already begun to pillage the houses; Pierre Volé defended his against them. I shuddered at the idea of presenting myself to three or four hundred furious men, who, perhaps, could not comprehend what I had to say. 'M. Appia, take care,' said a catholic who met me; 'you have your tricoloured cockade still on.' I thanked him for his suggestion, and substituted a piece of white paper for the dangerous cockade; I then, praying God to aid me, and hoping to be useful to my country, directed my steps towards the Cossacks. They had just massacred eight of Zimmerman's hussars. My heart trembled, as if it were hanging by a thread; I advanced towards the officer who seemed to be the chief in rank. 'What do you want, and who are you?' said he to me, in German.

"'I am a magistrate herè,' replied I, 'and my name is Appia. What do you require of the inhabitants of La Torre?'

“‘That they lay down their arms, and surrender all the French they have in their hands.’

“‘No one is armed. The French are gone.’

“‘Do you answer for the truth of your words?’

“‘Yes, sir.’

“‘In that case, I will sound a retreat.’

“He did so, and I then began to search for my colleagues. The first two I saw had been afraid to come out, because they had heard that they were going to put the town to fire and sword. I re-assured them, and we set out together for San Giovanni. Arrived there, we met three patrols of troops, whom we could not make to understand us. At this moment an officer appeared on the bridge. We waved a white handkerchief to him; he answered in the same manner, and we advanced towards him. He told us to join him at Luzerna, at the house of colonel Worsach. We went there; he received us very courteously. After I had put some requests, which he immediately granted, he said to us:— ‘Gentlemen, return to your houses, tell the inhabitants to be tranquil, and to resume their labours without fear.’

“‘I begged him to give me this order in writing.’

“‘Go and write it, and I will affix my signature.’

“We entered the house of the curé, where we wrote the order; but the colonel was already on horseback; we hastened to carry it to him, and he signed it on the pommel of his saddle. I asked him for authority to establish patrols, to protect us from pillage.

“‘Go,’ replied he, ‘all that you will do will be done well.’ And he added this authorization to the note he had signed.

“He had spoken to us partly in Latin, and partly in German.

“We set out, very much gratified with the results of our mission, and immediately established a special guard in each Vaudois commune.”

On the arrival of prince Bagration at Pinerolo, a deputation of the Vaudois waited upon him, with the submission of their valleys. They were most kindly received by him, and, the next day, presented to Suwarrow.

“At the appointed hour,” writes Appia, one of the deputation, “we were introduced into the dining-room; we saw a little old man enter in a white jacket, à la *Keyserlitz*, white breeches, a little leathern cap on his head, and with short, soft boots that fell down over his heels; . . . it was the marshal. The count

took me by the hand, and presented me. I was about to repeat the act of submission, but he said to me, 'That is not necessary; I know it all:' he then embraced me, pronouncing these words—*Pace, amicizia, e fratellanza.*

"A servant then brought him a large glass full of raw brandy, which he drank off at once. The same servant then brought in a dish, on which were a dozen great radishes, with salt and oil. He crunched half a dozen of these between his hard gums, as though he had young teeth, and then coming up to me, put three into my hand, and had a glass of brandy brought for me. When we had eaten our radishes, he asked us—'Gentlemen, of what religion are you? Do you say *thou* or *you* to God?' We gave him an outline of our faith, and he then turned to an old Danish general, and said, 'Pray for these gentlemen.' The general clasped his hands, and began a prayer with infinite unction; but it did not please the marshal, who stopped him, and himself recited one, which the Danish general repeated after him, word for word. This singular scene at an end, we all went to breakfast, and after it the marshal sent count Zuccati with us to the president of the council, and by this intervention we procured the guarantee for the safety of our valley which we had sought."

Napoleon had returned from Egypt in October, 1799; he had dissolved the directory, organized the senate, received the title of First Consul, reconstituted the tribunals, the administration, and the army. It required his powerful hand to reconstruct, so rapidly, the future of France with the wreck of the past.

On the 6th May, 1800, he left Paris, to put himself at the head of the army of the Alps. He crossed with it the snows of St. Bernard. Ere a week had elapsed, Susa, Ivrea, and Brunetta were in his power. On the 2nd of June, he was at Milan. All the troops coalesced against him had assembled in the plain of Alexandria. He marched thither, beat them at Montebello; but his army, hitherto victorious, seemed about to be worsted at Marengo. Buonaparte decided the success of the day by his energy. All Piedmont and Lombardy thus returned under the dominion of France, and the Cisalpine republic was proclaimed. The Vaudois, who had taken no share in this event, suddenly, and as if by magic, saw all the prohibitory laws under which they had groaned so long, fall to the ground. A free field lay open to the activity of their intelligence and their industry.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

STATE OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER THE FRENCH DOMINATION.

1799 — 1814.



PIEDMONT was inundated, after the battle of Marengo, with French troops, who had to be supported, despite the enormous dearness of provisions which then existed. The Vaudois communes, utterly unable to meet the cost, sent a deputation to wait on general Chabraud, and, in consideration of their past services to Frenchmen, were exempted from the extraordinary imposition.

Napoleon had passed several days at Milan (17th—24th June, 1800), occupied in re-organizing the Cisalpine republic, and in framing relations with the court of Rome. Amidst these occupations, the Vaudois church was altogether lost sight of. The financial position of the ministers had become most embarrassed; the English royal subsidy was withdrawn from them, now that they were French subjects, and the English national subsidy, though continued, came most irregularly. The Piedmontese executive endeavoured to allay their distress by transferring to the Vaudois pastors the revenues theretofore received by the fifteen suppressed Roman-catholic curés, and the revenues of the hospice of Pinerola; lastly, the Vaudois were declared *worthy of the national gratitude*.

Napoleon had been named president of the Italian republic, afterwards emperor of the French, and lastly king of Italy.

When he went to Milan, to place on his brow the iron crown, he received (June, 1805) at Turin a deputation from the Vaudois Table.

Buonaparte noticed M. Peyrani immediately, and accosted him in a style of unusual condescension, and even respect.

N. You are one of the protestant clergy ?

P. Yes, sire, and the moderator of the Vaudois church.

N. You are schismatics from the Roman church ?

P. Not schismatics, I hope, but separatists from scruples of conscience, on grounds that we consider to be scriptural.

N. You have had some brave men among you. But your mountains are the best ramparts you can have. Cæsar found some trouble in passing your defiles with five legions. Is Arnaud's "*La Rentrée Glorieuse*" correct ?

P. Yes, sire, believing our people to have been assisted by Providence.

N. How long have you formed an independent church ?

P. Since the time of Claude, bishop of Turin, about the year 820.

N. What stipends have your clergy ?

P. We cannot be said to have any fixed stipend at present.

N. You used to have a pension from England ?

P. Yes, sire, the kings of Great Britain were always our benefactors and protectors till lately. The royal pension is now withheld, because we are your majesty's subjects.

N. Are you organized ?

P. No, sire.

N. Draw out a memorial, and send it to Paris. You shall be organized immediately.

The memorial was sent, but it was only after long delays, on Napoleon's return to Paris in 1805, that, without waiting for the inquiry into the national property with which the Vaudois had been endowed by the executive commission, he confirmed for the Vaudois pastors the dotation they had received, without prejudice to the salary allowed them by the state. At the same time he signed the imperial decree of the sixth of Thermidor, year XIII. (25th July, 1805), by which their churches were formed into three consistories: one at La Torre, another at Prarustino, and a third at Villa-Secca.

There is nothing to call for comment in the history of the Vaudois under the sway of Napoleon. The regular march of the government and the impartial observance of the laws pursued their course, without any remarkable incident.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

STATE OF THE VAUDOIS UNDER THE RESTORATION.

1814—1842.

IN April, 1814, Victor-Emanuel IV. regained the sceptre of Piedmont; he had been king since 1802, but had not yet reigned. An English fleet had gone to Sardinia to convey him from exile to the throne of his ancestors. The Vaudois thought it expedient to send a deputation to Genoa to receive him on his landing. Accordingly, the pastors and mayors of all the communes assembled at Roccapiatta on the 4th May, 1814.

The deputies, Messrs. Appia and Peyrani, went to Genoa, and sought to obtain an interview with general Bentinck, commander of the British forces; but, not being successful, they referred their request to his banker and to the reverend Mr. Wennock, chaplain of the British forces, who took a warm interest in their case. The request was simply that the king would treat the Vaudois as favourably as his other subjects; but Victor-Emanuel, so far from complying with a request recommended by the representative of the great and generous nation which had just restored him to his throne, on his return to Turin issued an edict which revived all the ancient intolerant and exclusive measures against the Vaudois. By this edict, the injunction to lay aside all work on catholic festival days; the prohibition to acquire property beyond the valleys; the interdiction of all civil public employments; the obligation to have in their communal councils a catholic majority; and many other vexatious measures, were renewed.

A few days after the publication of this edict, Victor-Emanuel IV. signed two ordinances, one against freemasons, the other against all innkeepers who should serve people with meat on Fridays or Saturdays.

The Vaudois sent a deputation to Turin, to endeavour to procure the revocation of the decree. The deputation was received on the 28th May, 1814. "I will grant the Vaudois all I can," replied the king. His intentions were very good, but the catholic clergy prevailed. The lands granted to the Vaudois

pastors by Napoleon were resumed by the masters of its sovereign and foes of the Vaudois. The church which the Vaudois had built at San Giovanni was closed, and they were obliged to celebrate their religious services in the ruined church of Chiabasso, built on the confines of Angrogna.

The sole result of this second deputation was a *royal patent*, which confirmed the indulgences they had enjoyed before 1794. The deprivation of the resources on which the salary of their pastors depended, and the new impediments in the way of their worship, obliged them to have recourse once more to their sovereign.

The principal object of this third deputation was to claim the use of the church of San Giovanni. The king declined giving an immediate answer, but manifested favourable intentions.

The deputation then obtained an interview with the British ambassador, who promised to interest himself in their behalf. Meantime, the congress of Vienna had commenced its sittings. The Vaudois Board drew up a memorial, but, fearing to annoy a monarch whom they believed to be generous, forbore to issue it. This monarch had less consideration for them. A manifesto was published on the 4th January, 1815, to put in force all the ancient laws against them. It was in vain that the Vaudois renewed their representations: they were only more severely oppressed.

The ancient edicts, however, which were now again in force, were still more rigid; and it was considered an indulgence on the part of the government to limit itself to the edicts it had issued.

Napoleon, returned from Elba to Paris, with the daring resolve to regain the throne by his sole presence, had, in two months, levied more than 400,000 men.

It was thought that the Vaudois, considering the liberties they had acquired from the emperor, and the oppressions they had suffered from Victor-Emanuel IV. would take part with Napoleon.

The moderator of the valleys sent a despatch to them, advising them how to act: he prayed them to show that they were descended from those ancient Vaudois who, though sometimes ill-treated, did not allow the faults of their superiors to make them forget to rush to their succour in time of need; and expressed the hope, that the king, in consideration of the wisdom of their conduct and of their attachment to his royal person, would

give the Vaudois unequivocal proofs of his attachment and paternal care. This hope was far from being realized; but the fidelity of the Vaudois was not shaken, and their good conduct was a permanent protest against the perfidious insinuations that were made against them. The government had announced their intention to take from the Vaudois all the property which they had held under the French administration, in order to restore it to the catholic parishes, which were now once more established. But the curés wanted them, besides, to make the Vaudois pay a sum equivalent to the revenues of this property, during the whole time they had enjoyed it.

Shortly afterwards, they sent a memorial to their sovereign, in which they set forth the *sufferings and misery of their pastors*. They reminded him that they used to receive two supplies from England, one of them termed *royal*, the other *national*, which, together, raised the income of each pastor to about 400 livres Piedmontese. The British ambassador supported the prayer of the Vaudois; and in February, 1816, Victor-Emanuel issued an edict, to this purport:—

1st. That the pastors shall receive a fixed salary, the amount to be hereafter fixed.

2ndly. That the property acquired by the Vaudois without their ancient limits may be retained by the proprietors.

3rdly. That the protestants shall be allowed to exercise civil occupations, such as those of engineer, architect, surgeon, &c.

Soon afterwards, the king consented to allow the Vaudois to resume their religious services in the church of San Giovanni. At this time a census was made of the Vaudois population, and there were found to be—

Protestants	16,975
Catholics	4,075
Total . .	21,050

The Vaudois took no part in the political events of 1821, which led to the abdication of Victor-Emanuel IV., in favour of his brother, Charles-Felix; but they addressed to the new king a deputation, which was not received. On begging to know the cause of this severity, "Tell them," said he, "that they need only to be catholics to be perfect."

The popular movement in 1821 gave power a tendency once more to repression. In 1828, a confidential circular was addressed

to the notaries of the provinces of Saluzzo and Pinerolo, prohibiting them from receiving any act which might transfer to a Vaudois the possession of property situated beyond the ancient boundaries ; and more strictness was ordered as to mixed marriages. In 1833, was prohibited, under pain of two to five years' imprisonment, the introduction of books, pictures, or anything else contrary to the principles of the catholic religion, of morality, or of monarchy. In 1841, a particular intimation was addressed to the protestants who possessed property beyond the ancient bounds, to get rid of it within a stated period.

The persons concerned presented a petition to the government; and by a decision of the senate of Turin they were authorized to keep that portion of their property which they had held prior to the 17th of April, 1831, the period at which Charles-Albert came to the throne.

A new petition was sent in the name of proprietors whom dis-possession still affected ; they represented that the ancient limits had become too contracted by the increase of population, and demanded the retention of the property acquired beyond those bounds. No attention being paid to this request, the Vaudois Board sought and obtained permission to draw up a special table to show that the population of the valley was too closely confined. On these representations, the owners of property acquired since 1831 were authorized to keep it, but only on a special demand and permission.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BELIGIOUS REVIVAL, AND FOUNDATION OF VARIOUS ESTABLISH- MENTS IN THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS.

1824—1847.

THE Vaudois church chiefly owed its preservation to the trials it had undergone; persecution had rendered its faith stronger.

The order given, in 1698 and 1730, to all persons of foreign extraction who had settled in the valleys, to quit them, kept inviolate the integrity of the Vaudois population; while the narrow limits of their territories preserved them from the danger of being dispersed far from their places of worship.

The time was at hand when these barriers were to be removed. The Vaudois church could no longer depend on external agency for the preservation of the unity of its body; a vivid and inward force was to replace it—the hand of God.

A young officer of artillery had exclaimed, in a moment of sorrow: "O God, give me to know the truth, and deign to manifest thyself to my heart." He then recommenced his studies, and devoted himself to the evangelical ministry.

That young man was Felix Neff, led by Providence to that part of the French Alps where the Vaudois church had been established. He triumphed over all obstacles; he taught the inhabitants to irrigate their meadows, to improve their lands; but he more particularly lent himself to the task of vivifying their souls.

The next year he went to the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, and was forcibly struck with the richness of the vegetation, so strongly contrasting with the aridity of the French valleys. But he was still more struck with the spiritual degeneracy of the Vaudois.

Prayer meetings were formed by him without the official circle of the church. These were denounced to the intendant of Pine-rollo, and by him to the moderator; but the latter pronounced them within evangelical legitimacy, and refused to allow any interference. Thus was religious zeal revived in the valleys, and with it came enlarged solicitude for the temporal wants of the church.

The idea of building a hospital in the valleys occurred to a few generous persons; the king authorized its foundation, and the representatives of the protestant powers, at Turin, gave, in every direction, facilities for the attainment of this important object. Count de Waldburg Truchsess was especially prominent in promoting the undertaking. On learning that they were authorized to purchase a site for the purpose, he remitted to them the sum necessary for the purchase, which sum was part of a gift of 12,000 francs which had been made to the Vaudois by the emperor of Russia, Alexander, at the instance of the count.

It was next determined to appoint a delegate, to collect the contributions which had been promised in foreign countries. The delegate departed in May, 1824; and after visiting Switzerland, Berlin, Paris, and England, returned in 1826. The protestant colonies in Genoa, Turin, and Rome, likewise contributed their

charity and their sympathies. In Geneva, and other towns of Switzerland, as well as in other countries, committees were formed in aid of the funds, and considerable sums were collected. M. Paul Appia, pastor of the French protestant church at Frankfort on the Maine, visited the Netherlands, and afterwards Paris, and raised important contributions, by his eloquent sermons; the kings of Great Britain, Prussia, and the Netherlands, added their names to the list of subscribers, and at length a sufficient capital was raised, not merely to build the hospital, but, by the aid of subsequent collections, to endow it with a revenue of 14,000 francs.

This first establishment was erected in the valley of Luzerna; a few years afterwards, a branch institution was erected in the valley of San Martino. At the same period, the reverend Dr. Gilly, having drawn the attention of the English public to the Vaudois valleys, by the narrative of his journey thither in 1823, became, so to speak, the founder of the college of the Holy Trinity, which was established at La Torre.

A branch of this institution was soon afterwards, by the exertions of major Beckwith and others, formed in the valley of San Martino. It is to major Beckwith that is owing especially the erection or enlargement of a hundred schools in the valleys, with adequate endowments; but it is to Dr. Gilly that the valleys are indebted for the interest aroused by his works, in favour of the Vaudois, not only in major Beckwith, but in the committee which, formed at London in 1825, has so materially promoted the ameliorations which have since taken place in them.

The more complete organization of the public services and of spiritual instruction, became next a leading object with the ecclesiastical staff of the valleys. The articles of discipline were scattered through a hundred synodal acts. M. George Muston, pastor of Bobbio, and assistant moderator, undertook to collect and classify them; he consecrated two years to the task, and the result of his labours was then submitted, first to the members of the Vaudois board separately, and next to the aggregate synod, which, on the 5th December, 1833, adopted and enacted it. It is divided into seven chapters, and comprehends 269 articles.* The number of parishes was about the same time

* The extent of these articles precludes their insertion in this volume; but that the reader may have the means of judging of the religious tenets of the Vaudois, and of the steadiness with which they have adhered to the faith of their ancestors, the present editor has given, in an appendix, their most ancient and their latest confession extant.

augmented in the valleys. There had been but thirteen of these from 1686 to 1829, but in the latter year Macegli was detached from the parish of Maneglia, and Rodoreto from that of Prali, thus forming two additional cures.

The introduction of lay members into the administration of the Vaudois church was made in 1823, and from that period the union has been closer between the pastors and their flocks, and the management of affairs far more satisfactory to all parties. Brotherly conferences are held, twice a year, by all the assembled pastors, and frequently by the pastors of each valley among themselves. A special school for the training of young men destined to the ministry was established in 1828; and, since 1848, all these candidates for the pastorship are instructed in Italian, with the view to the gradual restoration in the valleys of this their true national tongue, which became superseded by the French language, owing to the introduction, after the plague of 1630, of fifteen pastors from Geneva.

The library of the college of La Trinité has of late years greatly increased, and therein are now deposited all the attainable archives of the Vaudois.

CHAPTER XL.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF THE VAUDOIS IN
THE REIGN OF CHARLES-ALBERT.

It is not surprising, after the great political movements of 1848, that tottering thrones should have extended to more than one people the tardy fruits of their liberties; and, thus considered, the civil and political emancipation of the Vaudois would be no extraordinary event: but the king of Sardinia had of his own free will engaged in a liberal course of policy, long before the revolutionary explosion of 1848. He had emancipated the Vaudois, and given a constitution to his people, without any pressure from without, and simply from the impulse of his own noble heart and lofty intelligence. It may have been seen that the rigour of the ancient edicts had been weakened by the individual acts of the sovereign. These edicts, although still existing in form, had fallen into desuetude.

The Roman clergy had also changed its system of attack on the Vaudois church. Violence and oppression being no longer in vogue, they had recourse to a weapon already employed in former ages—discussion; which, however, now assumed the milder form of pastoral letters. Bigex, bishop of Pinerolo, commenced this task; and on the appearance of the first of his pastorals, the Vaudois public was very much excited, whether from the novelty of the thing, or from the fear of possible consequences. Several pastors thought themselves bound to reply, and they did so by manuscript refutations, which, reproduced in many copies, circulated from family to family. This paper warfare soon ceased, producing no result to those who opened it. It was resumed by several of the successors of M. Bigex, but the only effect was, that public opinion inclined more than ever towards the Vaudois.



PIGNEROL—MONTE VISO.

Charles-Albert himself felt the influence. In his quality of grand master of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, he consented, in 1844, to be present at the dedication of the temple of the new church of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, established at La Torre. Previous to the ceremony, orders had been given at La Torre to prepare lodgings for the troops of the line who were to come as his majesty's guard, and dark recollections clouded the thoughts of most of the people; when suddenly they heard that the king had dismissed the guard, saying, "I need no guard among the Vaudois."

Before quitting the valleys, the king placed in the hands of the syndic of La Torre, large alms for the poor of both communions; and when he resumed the road to Turin, he could see, like a sparkling diadem, a girdle of bonfires, which testified the joy and gratitude he had left behind him. Shortly afterwards, in memory of the good and loyal reception he had received from

the Vaudois, he caused a small monumental fountain to be erected at the gates of La Torre, with this inscription :—

IL RE CARLO ALBERTO AL POPOLO CHE
L'ACCOGLIEVA CON TANTO AFFETTO.
MDCCCXLV.

The decoration of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus was afterwards given to general Beckwith, as to the benefactor of the Vaudois.

Towards the close of 1847, the social and political reforms long meditated by the Piedmontese government began to be developed, in the amendment of legal procedure, the introduction of trial by jury, &c. On the 22nd November, 1847, was promulgated the organic law of the communal and provincial councils, whereby all restrictions were removed from the election of Vaudois. This measure was soon followed by the institution of the national guard.

A petition, at the head of which appeared the name of the marquis d'Azeglio, was next drawn up to the sovereign, seeking the civil emancipation of the Vaudois and the Jews. The generous marquis himself presented this address to the sovereign, which was supported a few days afterwards by another petition from the Vaudois. Public opinion sustained the movement; and on the 17th of February, 1848, there appeared an edict, granting to the Vaudois a full participation in all the civil and political rights enjoyed by the other subjects of the king, including the privilege of frequenting the public schools, and of obtaining degrees at the university. No sooner was this decree known in the valleys than it excited an enthusiasm there, in which catholics alike with protestants took part. It was amidst the rejoicings occasioned by this edict, and by the constitution which had been granted to the Sardinian states by their beloved sovereign, that the revolution broke out in France, which, among its other effects, induced the abdication of that monarch in favour of his eldest son, Charles-Emanuel V.

The Vaudois were, in especial, mourners at the abdication and subsequent death of him to whom they owed so much, by whom their political existence was changed, under whom a new era commenced for them.

The story of this era it will be for future historians to relate: may it be as glorious, and less agitated than that of the past!

APPENDIX.

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH AND ANCIENT CATECHISM OF THE VAUDOIS.

*A Confession of Faith of the Waldenses, bearing date A.D. 1120,
taken from the Cambridge MSS.*

“Article I.—We believe and firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, which is called the Apostle’s Creed, accounting for heresy whatsoever is disagreeing, and not consonant to the said twelve articles.

“Article II.—We do believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

“Article III.—We acknowledge for the holy canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible, viz. :—

The Books of Moses called	{	Genesis
		Exodus
		Leviticus
		Numbers
	{	Deuteronomy
		Joshua
		Judges
		Ruth
		1 Samuel
		2 Samuel
		1 Kings
		2 Kings
		1 Chronicles
		2 Chronicles
		Ezra
		Nehemiah
Esther		
Job		
Psalms		

The Proverbs of Solomon
 Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher
 The Song of Solomon
 The Prophecy { Isaiah
 of { Jeremiah
 The Lamentations of Jeremiah
 Ezekiel
 Daniel
 Hosea
 Joel
 Amos
 Obadiah
 Jonas
 Micah
 Nahum
 Habbakuk
 Zephaniah
 Haggai
 Zachariah
 Malachi.

Here follow the books Apocryphal, which are not received of the Hebrews. But we read them (as saith St. Jerome in his Prologue to the Proverbs) for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of the doctrine of the church, viz. :—

 Esdras
 Tobit
 Judith
 Wisdom
 Ecclesiasticus
 Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah
 Esther from the tenth chapter to the end
 The Song of the Three Children in the Furnace
 The History of Susanna
 The History of the Dragon
 1 Maccabees
 2 Maccabees

Here follow the books of the New Testament :

The Gospel accord- ing to St.	{	Matthew
		Mark
		Luke
		John

The Acts of the Apostles
 The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans
 1 Corinthians
 2 Corinthians
 Galatians
 Ephesians
 Philippians
 Colossians
 1 Thessalonians
 2 Thessalonians
 1 Timothy
 2 Timothy
 Titus
 Philemon
 The Epistle to the Hebrews
 The Epistle of St. James
 The 1 Epistle of St. Peter
 The 2 Epistle of St. Peter
 The 1 Epistle of St. John
 The 2 Epistle of St. John
 The 3 Epistle of St. John
 The Epistle of St. Jude
 The Revelation of St. John.

“Article IV.—The books above said teach this, that there is one God, Almighty, all-wise, and all-good, who has made all things by his goodness; for he formed Adam in his own image and likeness, but that by the envy of the devil, and the disobedience of the said Adam, sin has entered into the world, and that we are sinners in Adam and by Adam.

“Article V.—That Christ was promised to our fathers who received the law, that so knowing by the law their sin, unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, to satisfy for their sins, and accomplish the law by himself.

“Article VI.—That Christ was born in the time appointed by God the Father. That is to say, in the time when all iniquity abounded, and not for the cause of good works, for all were sinners; but that he might show us grace and mercy, as being faithful.

“Article VII.—That Christ is our life, truth, peace, and righ-

teousness, also our pastor, advocate, sacrifice, and priest, who died for the salvation of all those that believe, and is risen for our justification.

“Article VIII.—In like manner, we firmly hold, that there is no other mediator and advocate with God the Father, save only Jesus Christ. And as for the Virgin Mary, that she was holy, humble, and full of grace; and in like manner do we believe concerning all the other saints, viz., that being in heaven, they wait for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

“Article IX.—*Item*, we believe that after this life, there are only two places, the one for the saved, and the other for the damned, the which two places we call paradise and hell, absolutely denying that purgatory invented by antichrist, and forged contrary to the truth.

“Article X.—*Item*, we have always accounted as an unspeakable abomination before God, all those inventions of men, namely, the feasts and the vigils of saints, the water which they call holy. As likewise to abstain from flesh upon certain days, and the like; but especially their masses.

“Article XI.—We esteem for an abomination and as antichristian, all those human inventions which are a trouble or prejudice to the liberty of the spirit.

“Article XII.—We do believe that the sacraments are signs of the holy thing, or visible forms of the invisible grace, accounting it good that the faithful sometimes use the said signs or visible forms, if it may be done. However, we believe and hold, that the above-said faithful may be saved without receiving the signs aforesaid, in case they have no place nor any means to use them.

“Article XIII.—We acknowledge no other sacrament but Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

“Article XIV.—We ought to honour the secular powers by submission, ready obedience, and paying of tributes.”

A Confession of Faith published by the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, in 1669.

“Having understood that our adversaries, not contented to have most cruelly persecuted us, and robbed us of all our goods and estates, have yet an intention to render us odious to the

world, by spreading abroad many false reports, and so not only to defame our persons, but likewise to asperse with most shameful calumnies that holy and wholesome doctrine which we profess, we look upon ourselves as obliged, for the better information of those whose minds may perhaps be preoccupied by sinister opinions, to make a short declaration of our faith, such as we have heretofore professed and held, and do at this day profess and hold as conformable to the word of God; and so every one may see the falsity of those their calumnies, and also how unjustly we are hated and persecuted upon the account of our profession.

" We believe,

"1. First, that there is one only God, who is a spiritual essence, eternal, infinite, all-wise, merciful, just, and, in sum, all-perfect; and that there are three persons in that one only and simple essence, viz.—the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

"2. That the same God has manifested himself unto us by the works of Creation and Providence, as also in his word revealed unto us, first by oracles in several manners, and afterwards by those written books which are called the Holy Scriptures.

"3. That we ought to receive those Holy Scriptures (as we do) for sacred and canonical, that is to say, for the constant rule of our faith and life: as also to believe, that the same is fully contained in the Old and New Testament; and that by the Old Testament we must understand only such books as God did intrust the Judaical church with, and which that church always approved and acknowledged to be from God: namely, the five books of Moses, Joshua, the Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 of Samuel, 1 and 2 of the Kings, 1 and 2 of the Chronicles, the 1 of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the four great, and the twelve minor Prophets: the New Testament contains only the four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul—1 to the Romans, 2 to the Corinthians, 1 to the Galatians, 1 to the Ephesians, 1 to the Philippians, 1 to the Colossians, 2 to the Thessalonians, 2 to Timothy, 1 to Titus, 1 to Philemon, and his Epistle to the Hebrews; 1 of St. James, 2 of St. Peter, 3 of St. John, 1 of St. Jude; and lastly, the Revelation.

"4. We acknowledge the divinity of these books, not only from the testimony of the church, but more especially because of

the eternal and undoubted truth of the doctrine therein contained, and of that most divine excellency, sublimity, and majesty, which appears therein; besides the testimony of the Holy Spirit, who gives us to receive with reverence the testimony of the church in that point, and opens the eyes of our understanding to discover the beams of that celestial light, which shines in the Scripture, and prepares our taste to discern the divine favour of that spiritual food.

“5. That God made all things of nothing by his own free will, and by the infinite power of his word.

“6. That he governs and rules all by his providence, ordaining and appointing whatsoever happens in this world, without being author or cause of any evil committed by the creatures, so that the defect thereof neither can nor ought to be any ways imputed unto him.

“7. That the angels were all in the beginning created pure and holy, but that some of them are fallen into irreparable corruption and perdition; and that the rest have persevered in their first purity by an effect of divine goodness, which has upheld and confirmed them.

“8. That man was created clean and holy, after the image of God, and that through his own fault he deprived himself of that happy condition, by giving credit to the deceitful words of the devil.

“9. That man by his transgression lost that righteousness and holiness which he received, and is thereby obnoxious to the wrath of God, death, and captivity, under the jurisdiction of him who has the power of death, that is, the devil; insomuch that our free will has become a servant and a slave to sin: and thus all men, both Jews and Gentiles, are by nature the children of wrath, being all dead in their trespasses and sins, and consequently incapable of the least good motion, or inclination to any thing which concerns their salvation: yea, incapable to think one good thought without God's special grace, all their imaginations being wholly evil, and that continually.

“10. That all the posterity of Adam is guilty of his disobedience, and infected by his corruption, and fallen into the same calamity with him, even the very infants from their mothers' womb, whence is derived the word of original sin.

“11. That God saves from that corruption and condemnation those whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, not

for any disposition, faith, or holiness that he foresaw in them, but of his mere mercy in Jesus Christ his Son ; passing by all the rest, according to the irreprehensible reason of his free will and justice.

“ 12. That Jesus Christ having been ordained by the eternal decree of God to be the only Saviour, and head of that body which is the church, he redeemed it with his own blood in the fulness of time, and communicates unto the same all his benefits, together with the gospel.

“ 13. That there are two natures in Jesus Christ, viz., divine and human, truly united in one and the same person, without either confusion, separation, division, or alteration ; each nature keeping its own distinct proprieties ; and that Jesus Christ is both true God and true man.

“ 14. That God so loved the world, that is to say, those whom he has chosen out of the world, that he gave his own Son to save us by his most perfect obedience (especially that obedience which he expressed in his suffering the cursed death of the cross), and also by his victory over the devil, sin, and death.

“ 15. That Jesus Christ having fully expiated our sins by his most perfect sacrifice once offered on the cross, it neither can nor ought to be reiterated upon any account whatsoever, as they pretend to do in the mass.

“ 16. That the Lord having fully and absolutely reconciled us unto God, through the blood of his cross, by virtue of his merit only, and not of our works, we are thereby absolved and justified in his sight, neither is there any other purgatory besides his blood, which cleanses us from all sin.

“ 17. That we are united with Christ, and made partakers of all his benefits by faith, trusting and confiding wholly to those promises of life which are given us in the gospel.

“ 18. That that faith is the gracious and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit, which enlightens our souls, and persuades them to lean and rest upon the mercy of God, and so thereby to apply unto themselves the merits of Jesus Christ.

“ 19. That Jesus Christ is our true and only mediator, not only redeeming us, but also interceding for us, and that by virtue of his merits and intercession we have access unto the Father, for to make our supplications unto him, with a holy confidence and assurance that he will grant us our requests, it being needless to have recourse to any other intercessor besides himself.

"20. That as God has promised us that we shall be regenerated in Christ, so those that are united unto him by a true faith ought to apply, and do really apply themselves unto good works.

"21. That good works are so necessary to the faithful, that they cannot attain the kingdom of heaven without the same, seeing that God hath prepared them that we should walk therein; and therefore we ought to avoid vice, and to apply ourselves to Christian virtues, making use of fasting, and all other means which may conduce to so holy a thing.

"22. That although our good works cannot merit anything, yet the Lord will reward or recompense them with eternal life, through the merciful continuation of his grace, and by virtue of the unchangeable constancy of his promises made unto us.

"23. That those who are already in the possession of eternal life by their faith and good works ought to be considered as saints, and as glorified persons, and to be praised for their virtue, and imitated in all good actions of their life, but neither worshipped nor prayed unto, for God only is to be prayed unto, and that through Jesus Christ.

"24. That God has chosen unto himself one church in the world for the salvation of mankind, and that same church to have one only head and foundation, which is Christ.

"25. That that church is the company of the faithful, who having been elected before the foundation of the world, and called with an holy calling, come to unite themselves to follow the word of God, believing whatsoever he teaches them, and living in his fear.

"26. That that church cannot err, nor be annihilated, but must endure for ever, and that all the elect are upheld and preserved by the power of God in such sort, that they all persevere in the faith unto the end, and remain united in the holy church, as so many living members thereof.

"27. That all men ought to join with that church, and to continue in the communion thereof.

"28. That God does not only instruct and teach us by his word, but has also ordained certain sacraments to be joined with it, as a means to unite us unto Christ, and to make us partakers of his benefits; and that there are only two of them belonging in common to all the members of the church under the New Testament—to wit, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

"29. That God has ordained the sacrament of Baptism to be a testimony of our adoption, and of our being cleansed from our sins, by the blood of Jesus Christ, and renewed in holiness of life.

"30. That the Holy Supper was instituted for the nourishment of our souls, to the end that eating effectually the flesh of Christ, and drinking effectually his blood, by the incomprehensible virtue and power of the Holy Spirit, and through a true and living faith, and so uniting ourselves most closely and inseparably to Christ, we come to enjoy in him and by him the spiritual and eternal life. Now to the end that every one may clearly see what our belief is as to this point, we have here inserted the very expressions of that prayer which we make use of before the Communion, as they are written in our Liturgy or form of celebrating the Holy Supper, and likewise in our public Catechism, which are to be seen at the end of our Psalms; these are the words of the prayer,—

"Seeing our Lord has not only once offered his body and blood for the remission of our sins, but is willing also to communicate the same unto us as the food of eternal life, we humbly beseech him so to give us of his grace, that in true sincerity of heart and with an ardent zeal we may receive of him so great a benefit; that is, that we may be made partakers of his body and blood, or rather of his whole self, by a sure and certain faith.

"The words of the Liturgy are these—Let us then believe first, the promises which Christ (who is the infallible truth), has pronounced with his own mouth, viz., that he will make us truly partakers of his body and blood, that so we may possess him entirely, and in such sort that he may live in us, and we in him. The words of our Catechism are the same, *Nella Domenica* 53.

"31. That it is necessary the church should have ministers, known by those who are employed for that purpose, to be learned, and of a good life, as well to preach the word of God as to administer the sacraments, and wait upon the flock of Christ (according to the rules of a good and holy discipline), together with elders and deacons, after the manner of the primitive church.

"32. That God hath established kings and magistrates to govern the people, and that the people ought to be obedient and subject unto them, by virtue of that ordination, not only for

fear, but also for conscience-sake, in all things that are conformable to the word of God, who is the King of kings, and the Lord of lords.

“33. Finally, that we ought to receive the symbol of the apostles, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Decalogue, as fundamentals of our faith and of our devotion.

“And for a more ample declaration of our faith, we do here reiterate the same protestation which we caused to be printed in 1603, that is to say, that we do agree in sound doctrine with all the reformed churches of France, Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and others, as it is represented by them in their confessions; as also we receive the Confession of Augsburg, and as it was published by the authors, promising to persevere constantly therein with the help of God, both in life and death, and being ready to subscribe to that eternal truth of God, with our own blood, even as our ancestors have done from the days of the apostles, and especially in these latter ages.

“Therefore we humbly entreat all the evangelical and protestant churches to look upon us as true members of the mystical body of Christ, suffering for his name’s sake, notwithstanding our poverty and lowness; and to continue unto us the help of their prayers to God, and all other effects of their charity, as we have heretofore abundantly found and felt, for the which we return them our most humble thanks, entreating the Lord with all our heart to be their rewarder, and to pour upon them the most precious blessings of grace and glory, both in this life and that which is to come. *Amen.*”

Catechism of the Ancient Waldenses for the instruction of their Youth, composed in the 13th century.

Minister. If one should demand of you, who are you, what would you answer?

Child. A creature of God, reasonable, and mortal.

Min. Why has God created you?

Ans. To the end that I might know him and serve him, and be saved by his grace.

Min. Wherein consists your salvation?

Ans. In three substantial virtues, which necessarily belong to salvation.

Min. Which are they ?

Ans. Faith, hope, and charity.

Min. How can you prove that ?

Ans. The apostle writes, 1 Cor. xiii., "Now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three."

Min. What is faith ?

Ans. According to the apostle, Heb. xi., "It is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen."

Min. How many sorts of faith are there ?

Ans. There are two sorts, viz., a living and a dead faith.

Min. What is a living faith ?

Ans. It is that which works by charity.

Min. What is a dead faith ?

Ans. According to St. James, it is that which without works is dead. Again, faith is null without works ; or a dead faith is, to believe that there is a God, and not to believe in him.

Min. What is your faith ?

Ans. The true catholic and apostolic faith.

Min. What is that ?

Ans. It is that which in the result (or symbol) of the apostles, is divided into twelve articles.

Min. What is that ?

Ans. I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.

Min. By what way can you know that you believe in God ?

Ans. By this, that I know and I observe the commandments of God.

Min. How many commandments of God are there ?

Ans. Ten, as is manifest in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

Min. Which be they ?

Ans. "Hear, O Israel, I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other gods before me. Thou shalt not make any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven," &c.

Min. What is the sum or drift of these commandments ?

Ans. It consists in these two great commandments, viz., Thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself.

Min. What is that foundation of these commandments, by the which every one may enter into life, and without the which foundation none can do anything worthily, or fulfil the commandments ?

Ans. The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the apostle speaks in the 1 Cor., "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Min. By what means may a man come to this foundation?

Ans. By faith, as saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 6, "Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious, and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded." And the Lord saith, "He that believeth hath eternal life."

Min. Whereby canst thou know that thou believest?

Ans. By this, that I know him to be true God, and true man, who was born, and who hath suffered, &c., for my redemption, justification, and that I love him, and desire to fulfil his commandments.

Min. By what means may one attain to those essential virtues, faith, hope, and charity?

Ans. By the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Min. Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?

Ans. Yes, I do believe. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; and is one person of the Trinity; and according to the Divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son.

Min. Thou believest God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit; thou hast therefore three Gods.

Ans. I have not three.

Min. Yea, but thou hast named three.

Ans. That is by reason of the difference of the persons, not by reason of the essence of the divinity. For although there are three persons, yet notwithstanding there is but one essence.

Min. In what manner dost thou adore and worship that God on whom thou believest?

Ans. I adore him with the adoration of an inward and outward worship. Outwardly, by the bending of the knee, and lifting up the hands, by bowing the body, by hymns and spiritual songs, by fasting and praying; but inwardly, by an holy affection: by a will conformable unto all things that are well pleasing unto him. And I serve him by faith, hope, and charity, according to his commandments.

Min. Dost thou adore and worship any other thing as God?

Ans. No.

Min. Why?

Ans. Because of his commandment, whereby it is strictly commanded, saying, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And again, "I will not give my glory to another." Again, "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow before me." And Jesus Christ saith, "There shall come the true worshippers, which shall worship the Father

in spirit and in truth." And the angel would not be worshipped by St. John, nor St. Peter by Cornelius.

Min. After what manner prayest thou?

Ans. I pray, rehearsing the prayer given me by the Son of God, saying, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c.

Min. What is the other substantial virtue appertaining to salvation?

Ans. It is charity.

Min. What is charity?

Ans. It is the gift of the Holy Spirit by which the soul is reformed in the will, being enlightened by faith, whereby I believe all that ought to be believed, and hope all that ought to be hoped.

Min. Dost thou believe in the holy church?

Ans. No, for it is a creature; but I believe that there is one.

Min. What is that which thou believest concerning the holy church?

Ans. I say, that the church is considered two manner of ways, the one substantially, and the other ministerially. As it is considered substantially, by the holy catholic church is meant all the elect of God, from the beginning of the world to the end, by the grace of God through the merit of Christ, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, and fore-ordained to eternal life; the number and names of whom are known to him alone who has elected them, and in this church remains none who is reprobate; but the church, as it is considered according to the truth of the ministry, is the company of the ministers of Christ, together with the people committed to their charge, using the ministry by faith, hope, and charity.

Min. Whereby dost thou know the church of Christ?

Ans. By the ministers lawfully called, and by the people participating in truth of the ministry.

Min. But by what marks knowest thou the ministers?

Ans. By the true sense of faith; by sound doctrine; by a life of good example; by the preaching of the gospel, and a due administration of the sacraments.

Min. By what mark knowest thou the false ministers?

Ans. By their fruits; by their blindness; by their evil works; by their perverse doctrine, and by their undue administration of the sacraments.

Min. Whereby knowest thou their blindness?

Ans. When not knowing the truth, which necessarily apper-

tains to salvation, they observe human inventions as ordinances of God. Of whom is verified what Isaiah says, and which is alleged by our Lord Jesus Christ, Matt. xv., "This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Min. By what marks knowest thou evil works?

Ans. By those manifest sins of which the apostle speaks, Gal. v., saying, "That they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

Min. By what mark knowest thou perverse doctrine?

Ans. When it teacheth contrary to faith and hope; such is idolatry of several sorts, viz., towards a reasonable, sensible, visible or invisible creature. For it is the Father alone, with his Son and the Holy Spirit, who ought to be worshipped, and not any creature whatsoever, when they attribute to man and to the work of his hands, or to his words, or to his authority, in such a manner, that men ignorantly believe that they have satisfied God by a false religion, and by satisfying the covetous simony of the priests.

Min. By what marks is the undue administration of the sacrament known?

Ans. When the priests, not knowing the intention of Christ in sacraments, say, that the grace and the truth are included in the external ceremonies, and persuade men to the participation of the sacrament without the truth, and without faith. But the Lord chargeth those that are his to take heed of such false prophets, saying, "beware of the pharisees," that is to say, "of the leaven of their doctrine." Again, "Believe them not, neither go after them." And David hates the church or the congregation of such persons, saying, "I hate the church of evil men." And the Lord commands to come out from the midst of such people, Num. xvi., "Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in their sins." And the apostle, 2 Cor. vi. 14, "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers. For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness, and what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you." Again, 2 Thess. "Now

we command you, brethren, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly." Again, Rev. xviii., "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

Min. By what marks are those people known who are not in truth within the church?

Ans. By public sins, and an erroneous faith. For we ought to fly from such persons, lest we be defiled by them.

Min. By what ways oughtest thou to communicate with the holy church?

Ans. I ought to communicate with the church in regard of its substance, by faith and charity, as also by observing the commandments, and by a final perseverance in well-doing.

Min. How many things are there which are ministerial?

Ans. Two. The word and the sacraments.

Min. How many sacraments are there?

Ans. Two; namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Min. What is the third virtue necessary to salvation?

Ans. Hope.

Min. What is hope?

Ans. It is a waiting for grace and glory to come.

Min. How does a man wait (or hope) for grace?

Ans. By the mediator Jesus Christ, of whom St. John saith, "Grace comes by Jesus Christ." Again, "We have seen his glory, who is full of grace and truth, and we all have received of his fulness."

Min. What is that grace?

Ans. It is redemption, remission of sins, justification, adoption, and sanctification.

Min. Upon what account is this grace hoped for in Christ?

Ans. By a living faith, and true repentance, saying, "Repent ye, and believe the gospel."

Min. Whence proceedeth this hope?

Ans. From the gift of God, and the promises of which the apostle mentioneth, "He is powerful to perform whatsoever he promiseth." For he hath promised himself, that whosoever shall know him, and repent, and shall hope in him, he will have mercy upon, pardon, and justify, &c.

Min. What are the things that put us beside this hope?

Ans. A dead faith, the seduction of antichrist to believe in other things beside Christ, that is to say, in saints, in the power of that antichrist, in his authority, words, and benedictions, in

sacraments, reliques of the dead, in purgatory, which is but forged and contrived, in teaching that faith is obtained by those ways which oppose themselves to the truth, and are against the commandments of God. As is idolatry in divers respects. As also by wickedness and simony, &c. Forsaking the fountain of living water given by grace, and running to broken cisterns, worshipping, honouring, and serving the creature by prayers, by fastings, by sacrifices, by donations, by offerings, by pilgrimages, by invocations, &c. Relying upon themselves for the acquiring of grace, which none can give save only God in Christ. In vain do they labour, and lose their money and their lives, and the truth is, they do not only lose their present life, but also that which is to come; wherefore it is said, that "the hope of fools shall perish."

Min. And what dost thou say of the blessed Virgin Mary? For she is full of grace, as the angel testifies—"I salute thee full of grace."

Ans. The blessed Virgin was and is full of grace, as much as is necessary for her own particular salvation, but not to communicate to others, for her Son alone is full of grace, and can communicate the same as he pleaseth, and "we have all received of his fulness, grace for grace."

Min. Believest thou not the communion of saints?

Ans. I believe that there are two sorts of things wherein the saints communicate—the first substantial, the other ministerial. As to the substantials, they communicate by the Holy Spirit, in God, through the merit of Jesus Christ; as to the ministerials or ecclesiastics, they communicate by the ministry duly performed, namely, by the word, by the sacraments, and by prayer; I believe both the one and the other of these communions of saints. The first only in God, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost by the Holy Spirit. The other in the church of Christ.

Min. Wherein consists eternal life?

Ans. In a living and operating faith, and in perseverance in the same. Our Saviour says, John xvii., "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." And "he that endures to the end shall be saved."

THE END.



•



